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Titu Maiorescu:

*AGAINST SOME TENDENCIES IN ROMANIAN CULTURE**

Introductory Note:

Romanian Sources, in offering its readers this short article written by Titu Maiorescu 109 years ago, feels it is doing justice to both a great thinker and a great idea.

No history of Romanian spiritual evolution, however schematic, would be truly complete without mentioning Titu Maiorescu and his magazine Convorbiri Literare (Literary Colloquies). In an epoch of confusion, quick changes and rapid growth, Titu Maiorescu stood for purity in every form of art, in every aspect of culture. The polemics reflected in this article have subsided a long time ago, and the true creative spirit of the Romanian people has been proved to the world time and time again through the works of artists like Brancusi, Enesco, Ionesco and many more. But the idea of purity in art, the idea of form and content, the idea of art for art's sake is still debated, defended, and attacked, applied and discarded, here and everywhere.

Perhaps even today it would be good for us to stop and consider Maiorescu's point of view" "What is valuable in itself does not need any indulgent appraisal, for it is relevant not only for us and for the present time, but it is meaningful for everybody and for all times."

Romanian Sources.

Convorbiri Literare has published a series of articles on some of the most characteristic works in our culture in these last years; critiques on light poetry and on folkloric poetry, analyses of the etymologistical ideas of Mr. Cipariu's and Mr. Pumnul's Lepturarul; considerations on public law according to Mr. Barnutiu's school and the Romanian language as used in Austrian newspapers.

These articles have not remained unanswered, but, as usage seems to go lately among us those rebuttals referred to persons and not to ideas; therefore, out of respect for the publishing arts, we did not react to them. For the writer as a person is outside the field of literary debates.

We have to admit, however, that Transilvania[1], in its response to our evaluations, has touched some vital points which could very well characterize the whole present-day Romanian culture, and, as such, are worth bringing into focus. Moreover, Transilvania is the official

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*Convorbiri Literare, 1868.

[1]In 1868, Transilvania was still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the newspapers referred to in this instance were really Romanian periodicals published in Austria by Romanian minority groups.

publication and organ of the Association for Romanian Literature and Culture. Its editor, Mr. Barit, is a most respected figure in literary circles, Transilvania also represents the best if flourishing Transilvanian intellectuality and has every right to answer.

It its issue of August 1, 1868, Transilvania reacted to our critique on the faulty Romanian language used in Austrian newspapers, by taking up the counter-critique already voiced by Familia by Pesta that the linguistic errors we pointed out were mere "trifles". Transilvania, however, although admitting that Austrian newspapers write poor Romanian, wonders why the Moldavian publications from Iasi are just as bad, and quotes various paragraphs full of mistakes from Saptamana. On the whole, however, it seems to share Familia's opinion about the "mere trifles" and states:

"There is that old saying: Nero fiddles while Rome burns! Now, in this year 1868, look what Mr. Titu Maiorescu spends his time doing! He demands from Transilvanian editors smooth writing, good grammar, and impeccable orthography."

And who is voicing this criticism? We would understand if it came, let's say, from Albina, Federatiunea, or Telegraful, because these are political publications, and in the pursuit of the very important legal and political interests they deal with, a slight neglect in the forms of language might be admissible. But coming from Transilvania and Familia, two publications admittedly dedicated to literature, this argument is unacceptable. Moreover, we find it most characteristic of the present state of our intellectual culture that the official representative of the Transilvanian Association for Literature and Culture feels, to put it politely, inspired to accuse us of "fiddling" when we ask for good grammar, good style, and good orthography!

We really don't know how the members of that cultural Association might have reacted to their representative's statements. On our part, we must wonder why. If a literary publication cannot observe the rules of grammar, if it is not able to give its readers good style and correct orthography, why does such a publication dare to claim a place for itself in the publishing field? And what good does such a publication think it is doing in the cultural field?

The unavoidable answer to the unavoidable questions puts the Transilvanian Association's mouthpiece in such a poor light that we feel it's our duty to find the attenuating circumstances which could explain its attitude a little less unfavorably and somehow lessen the responsibility it took upon itself.

Actually, such attenuating circumstances do exist, and we feel that bringing them to the reader's attention is only fair.

Transilvania, along with many other cultural and political periodicals nowadays, is so poorly written and so poorly presented both in form and in content, because it is surrounded by a spoiled social environment and it is inspired by the ideas and feelings of the so-called Romanian "intelligentia". The fundamental vice that affects those people, and hence the whole trend in Romanian culture at the present time, is, to use

a euphemism, untruth. Untruth in aspirations, untruth in politics, untruth in poetry, untruth even in grammar, untruth in all manifestations and forms of public spirit.

Up to the turn of the century, Romanian society was engulfed in oriental barbarism. About 1820, it began waking up from that lethargy and catching up--even if belatedly--with the rapidly spreading movement that carried the ideas of the French Revolution to the four corners of Europe. Attracted by these ideas young generations of Romanians went into a migratory surge toward the wells of science in France and Germany. This movement is still going strong and has given Free Romania some of the veneer which foreign societies have. Unfortunately, it is only skin deep! For, unprepared as they were and still are and bewildered by all of the magnificent phenomena of modern culture, these youngsters were impressed only by the effects, but never investigated into the causes. They looked only at the surface of civilization, but were unable to perceive the historical background from which those cultures grew and without which they couldn't even exist today. And so, prisoners within the limits of a fatal superficiality, their hearts and minds afire with easy ardor, Romanian young folks came back, and continue to come back to their homeland determined to imitate and duplicate the exterior manifestations of Western Culture. They trust that in this way they'll quickly create the same kind of literature, science, fine-arts, and, above all, the same freedom they have seen in modern states. These juvenile illusions have been re-enacted so often that now they have produced a whole new intellectual milieu in Romanian society. So now there is also a powerful new trend which is sweeping along with it young and old alike, those wishing to go abroad as well as those coming back home from abroad. In sharp contrast to the poet of old, who, in awe of the enormous tribulations the Roman state had to go through till it was finally established, uttered the famous line: Tantae molis erate romanam condere gentem,[2] the descendants of those Romans deluded themselves into thinking that rooting the Romanian nation into the ways of modern civilization is an easy task; moreover, quite a number of them are even convinced that the settling in process is almost over. We have everything that's needed, they think. You ask them about literature: they give you--in exact figures--the number of columns printed in Romanian newspapers and magazines and the number of printing shops in Bucharest. You talk to them about science, and they show you a list of academic societies and the schedule of lectures on every possible problem human intelligence can conceive. Let's say you are interested in the fine-arts: they take you on a tour of museums and art galleries, telling you the number of artists we have and bragging about the quantity of canvas hung on walls. Finally, should you express any doubts about freedom, they show you a printed copy of the Constitution and quote from the speeches and communiques of the latest Secretary of State who happens to be in office.

In view of this trend that the Romanian public obviously is following, there's room for serious consideration as to the true reason that

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[2]How difficult it was to establish the Roman nation! (Virgil)

determined our people to lean toward Occidental culture. Was this really an intelligent evaluation of it or was it merely the vanity of Trajan's descendants, vanity to show other nations, at any cost, that our civilization is equal to theirs at all levels?

There's no other possible explanation for this erroneous direction taken by our whole public life, and I mean by that the lack of any solid basis for the superficial forms of civilization we are borrowing.

The lack of a solid basis per se might present no danger, but the nation's belief that a solid foundation is useless could be very dangerous, and even more dangerous is the self-deception of those who believe, and are believed to have done something great in borrowing empty forms from abroad. This completely erroneous misjudgment is the main phenomenon in our intellectual life. Such is the gravity of this phenomenon, that it seems to us each and every honest mind in this country should analyse it and try to find out how it all began in the Romanian culture and then denounce it publicly so that younger generations may understand it and fight against it.

In 1812, Petru Maior, wrote his history of the Romanian People's beginnings in Dacia. In his eagerness to prove that we are the direct, unadulterated descendants of the Romans, Maior maintains in Chapter IV that the Dacians had been completely decimated by the Romans and, consequently, no blending has ever taken place between these two nations. As proof for this bizarre hypothesis, the author quotes a doubtful paragraph from Eutropius and another one from Julian and then gives us his own interpretation of them, so outlandish that nobody with a sound mind could possibly accept it. So, the history of our nation's romanity starts out based on historical untruth.

In 1825, Lexiconul dela Buda was published and this "Romanian-Hungarian-Latin-German" dictionary attempts to prove, through word derivations, that our language is pure Latin with little or no Slavic influences in it. It goes to great and preposterous length to prove that words of undeniable Slavic origin come from Latin roots. So, with methods like these, the scientific study of our language starts out based on etymological untruth.

In 1840, Tentamen criticum in linguam romanicam was published. Written in Latin, this book was meant as scientific proof for all to see the purity of the Romanian spoken language; only, the language analysed there was never spoken, nor will it ever be, by our people. Non existent grammatical forms, expressions and phrases are used as examples. Thus, this study of Romanian grammar starts out based on philological untruth.

We repeat, what is surprising and oh! so sad in these endeavors is not so much the errors they contain, because those might be explained and even justified by circumstances, but the error in our judgment about them, the way enlightened minds in our society evaluate them and rank them as valid scientific facts. This is the blindness of not understanding that the structure of our ethnic culture cannot be founded on misconceptions.

If other nations are now aware of the latinity of our heritage, it is not through our Romanian efforts. The credit is due to linguists like Dietz, Raynouard, Fuchs, Miclosich, Max Muller and many others, who, not with

fancy arguments, but with solid scientific laws, have proven the essential latinity of the Romanian language. Books like Tentamentum and the Lexicon can only jeopardize our image, because they are likely to cast doubt on a thesis which uses unscientific arguments.

Once created by these three works, the false orientation in our modern culture has been continued quite easily. With the same core of untruth on the inside and the same boastful pretentiousness on the outside, all the forms of modern civilization have been aped and falsified. Before we had any political parties, we created political newspapers; before we had readers interested in science and literature, we published literary magazines, thus falsifying journalism. Before we had enough teachers, we built elementary schools in villages, and before we had a good, qualified faculty, we opened high-schools and colleges, thus falsifying public education. Before we had any extracurricular culture, we created literary associations and clubs, thus cheapening the spirit of cultural association. Before we had even the shadow of original scientific activity, we created the Roman Academic Society with branches for linguistics, history, archeology, earth sciences, etc., thus falsifying the idea of academe. Before we had any artists to speak of, we created the conservatory for music, and before we had even one artist painter of any talent, we created the Fine Arts School, and before we had even one playwright, we created the National Theater, thus demeaning all these forms of culture.

According to our statistics, we now possess all the trappings of modern civilization. We have politics and science, we have museums, art schools, a national theater, even a Constitution. But in reality, all these are empty illusions with no substance to them. This being the case, therefore, the culture of our higher classes is hollow and worthless, and the gap between it and that of average people gets wider and wider. The only thing that is real in our society is the Romanian village and its dwellers are burdened with paying for the upper classes' phantasmagoria. For it is from the peasant hard work that comes the money to build and maintain the fictitious structure called Romanian culture. It is their bottom penny that pays the artists and musicians, the Academy and the Atheneum, the many awards for science and literature, and for all this we don't even have the decency to write or create some work which would warm their hearts and make them forget for one moment their daily hardship.

We cannot live like this. The disappointment of the common people and the absurdity of the plebeians at the top have reached the extreme limit. Furthermore, the ever increasing facility in the ways of communication allows the real Western civilization to come to us now. Under its pervading light, all the artificiality and all the caricature of our "civilization" will become manifest, and the empty shells in which we took so much pride will soon be filled with the sound substance of their culture.

Do we still have time to undo these wrongs? Is there any chance for an energetic reaction from the young generation, a reaction which would discard the untruth and would create the will to replace the illusory pretensions with solid truth? We hope that destiny will allow us the necessary time for a renewal of the public spirit before it is too late,

before a fatal indifference takes hold of people's hearts. In the meantime, we strongly believe that it is the duty of all alert minds which see the danger we are in, to fight against it to the bitter end.

One of the mistakes we must protect our young generation against is the bland, careless fostering of mediocrity. Up to now, the worst poem, any kind of prose be it completely void of ideas, the most superficial lecture, everything has been praised or, at least, indulgently accepted, with the excuse that "something is better than nothing" and that "things might get better. This has been going on for thirty years, and we have been indiscriminately giving support to all kinds of persons with no calling and no talent. We have been saying Mister X is a great poet, Mister Y, an eminent reporter, Mister Z, a politician of European dimensions, when, in fact, things have been going downhill all the time, poetry is all but non-existent in our society, journalism has lost its force. As for Romanian politics, let's say we consider ourselves lucky to be in the literary publishing field and so we do not have to deal with it.

The first great truth we'll have to learn and proclaim is: eradicate mediocrity from the public life of the nation. The younger and less cultivated a nation is, the more dangerous mediocrity is for it. What is valuable in itself is self-evident and does not need any indulgent appraisal, for it is valuable not only for us and for the time being, but it is valuable for everybody and for all times.

The second, and even more important truth we'll have to keep constantly in mind is the following: mere form of civilization with no content is not only useless, but downright dangerous, because it undermines the reasons of a culture. In our opinion, therefore, no school is better than a bad school; no art gallery is better than one in which no fine art is to be found; and we all would be much better off with no statutes, organizations, no associations if these are not moved by the true spirit of a fellowship; we would be better off with no academies, no solemnities, no reception, no speeches, and no records, if we have all these things without due scientific maturity, which is the only reason for their existence.

Otherwise, all we do is create a sequence of empty forms which--without their proper content can last for only a limited time. In the meanwhile, however, an academy with no scientific spirit, an association with no spirit of fellowship, an art gallery with no art, and a school with no educational merit, will falsify the form itself, will discredit its effectiveness in the eyes of the public and might even delay the establishment of the content, because worthy creative activities would be delayed in entering into already discredited forms.

Let us revert now to our starting point. In the light of these few reflexions, we can see clearly now why Transilvania and other similar publications have taken their standpoint. These publications are dazzled and confused by the glare of empty forms. They believe that by turning out printed pages they are furthering Romanian literature. They are convinced that the obviously unintelligent records they publish are signed by a president, a vice-president or a secretary. They also believe that Mr. T's junior high-school-level studies about economics, or Mr. P's bluster about "prestigious" Romanian literature, and the need for a pantheon

in which are present the Romanian scholars who "sweat on the high and stiff Alp of philosophy", are praiseworthy scientific activities, simply because they were spirited within a session of a cultural assembly. These same publications now express much amazement that we, in this year 1868, dare to ask for content substance, correct language, good spelling, and good grammar in a literary magazine, when we should know that, busy as they are, they have no time for such "trifles".

As we were saying, we do understand their attitude, but we also understand why a young generation would want to condemn and discard, once and for all, this thinking.

For, without culture, a people can still live in the hope that at some time, at some point in its evolution, it would appear and come into being. However, with a false or hollow culture no nation can live, and if it perseveres in such fallacy it will end up confirming once more the old law of history: in the fight between true civilization and the strongest of nations, it is always the nation that is lost, but never the truth.

Translated by:

Natalia Dimitriu

Brutus Coste:

THE UNITED STATES AND EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

- An Overview -

Up until the First World War, East Central Europe loomed rather vaguely in the American consciousness. In the American view, the area was perceived only as an increasingly important source of unskilled immigrants and as a crossroad of three autocratic European empires.

A greater awareness of this area developed with America's entry into the First World War, and more particularly with President Wilson's January 8, 1918 message to the Congress embodying the Fourteen Points. Its references to the future of the East Central European nations were couched in deliberately ambivalent language. The nations of Austria-Hungary were merely promised autonomy. An independent Poland was to comprise only "indisputably Polish populations." An enlarged Serbia rather than a wider Southern Slavic state was envisaged.

Most historians agree that the ambiguity in several of the Fourteen Points reflected uncertainty on the outcome of the war. There was the need to provide a program of peace, not only for the event of victory, but also for that of a negotiated peace, or even for defeat. With victory, the assertion of the principle of self-determination swept aside the ambivalence and reservations of their initial formulation.

The point is that the nations of the three imperial structures had never really been aware of the initial reservations and ambiguities of the Wilson message. For them, it has been from the outset a solemn and clear-cut proclamation of the principle of self-determination which, they believed, was to become the foundation of the new European order. Under the impact of this belief, the dual empire simply disintegrated. By the time the peace treaties were ready for signing, these nations came merely to ratify the accomplished fact of an East Central Europe made up of nation-states as closely based on ethnic homogeneity as geo-demographic conditions permitted.

There is, accordingly, little foundation for the widespread theory that the victorious great powers, and particularly "Wilsonian idealism" bear responsibility for the suppression of the Hapsburg Empire and the "Balkanization" of an area which, by its location between Germans and Russians called for the stabilizing presence of a great power.

The simultaneous disappearance of the imperial menace from both East and West was to foster a false feeling of security and an exaggerated sense of self-importance among these new, aggrandized nation-states. Already burdened with staggering domestic problems, they became absorbed in territorial and boundary disputes as well as in other divisive rivalries. They thus failed to make good use of the short breathing spell history had allowed them to prepare for the day when Russia and Germany would make their inevitable comeback into the European arena. They missed this golden opportunity to fill the crossroad of the dead empires with a voluntary union of vigorous nation-states that would spare the peoples of the area from being alternately pawns or victims of the great powers.

With the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia at Munich, a sacrifice President Roosevelt perceived as an act of statesmanship ("Congratulations on a job well done") he had cabled to Chamberlain), the last traces of French and British trustworthiness went overboard. And the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August, 1939, with its spheres of influence implications, further deprived the East Central European states of freedom of choice.

The simple fact is that all the possible courses of policy were tried by one or another of the East Central European states. Yet they all ended in the same way: under Soviet domination. And this happened regardless of the direction in which they had been dragged or had steered themselves before or during the war.

The United States Image of Inter-war East Central Europe

The source-of-immigration and crossroad-of-continental-empires stereotypes of East Central Europe would yield, in the inter-war years to a somewhat different image. Finland and Masaryk's Czechoslovakia (and fleetingly Paderewski's Poland) established themselves solidly in the American perception as effective democracies, with Finland acquiring in the thirties the added merit of being the only state with a clear record of non-default on her war-debts. (This image would be carried over into the immediate post-World War II years and would appear to many public commentators as the most fitting explanation for the survival, until 1948, of a fairly genuine coalition government in Czechoslovakia and for Finland's success in averting Sovietization altogether.)

The other nations of the area were described as crazy-quilts of nationalities plagued by "political instability", "economic backwardness", "corruption", "scandals", "antisemitism" and "persecution of ethnic minorities". It follows that, on the whole, there was little sympathy and not much understanding in the American image of East Central Europe.

In the period between the two world wars, East Central Europe seemed a remote area in which the United States had only marginal interests. This was a reflection both of the post-Wilsonian isolationist course and of deference to the European continental powers' involvement in the area. The non-political interests of the United States were equally marginal, comprising such items as the war debts of the states of the area, modest investments of American business firms, relatively small American loans and modest trade relations. The interest of the East Central Europeans was confined to cultural exchanges, with American motion pictures, novels and jazz constituting the strongest carriers of American influence.

The War Years

President Roosevelt's re-election in 1940 marked the shift from the cautious course followed by the American president during the first year of the war to the gradual assumption of an increasingly partisan and interventionist position in the second year. America's interest in preventing Nazi domination over Europe was more and more underscored by

American diplomacy. Condemnatory pronouncements followed upon every new German aggression. Encouraging resistance to aggression became the leitmotiv of American diplomacy. This was usually accompanied by hints at the decisive role the United States intended to play in the making of the peace settlement.

Up to the spring of 1941, the most visible American interest for the nations of the East Central European area was the continued recognition of Czechoslovakia and Poland, and of their governments in exile. The United States lent strong diplomatic backing to the British efforts to thwart a German-Yugoslav accommodation. And when the German invasion materialized, United States diplomacy put strong pressure on Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania not to join the aggressor. When the first two failed to heed the American warning, they themselves were declared aggressors. Later in the year, when Romania joined the attack on the Soviet Union, no such declaration was issued in consideration of assurances that Romanian belligerence was confined to the recovery of Romanian lands the USSR had seized a year earlier with the blessing of Germany. A similar understanding American attitude followed the declaration of war that the three Axis satellites delivered after Pearl Harbor. Viewed as the products of duress, the declarations were not reciprocated until six months later when the Soviet Union so demanded it.

During the war, the peoples of East Central Europe, "friends" and "foes" alike, had warm feelings toward the United States--the foundation of their best hopes. These sentiments rested on the solid foundation of a powerful "Wilson legend"--reinforced by the pledges of the Atlantic Charter, and more particularly by faith in American power and American sense of fairness.

The Immediate Post-war Years

America failed to live up to the expectations and to the enormous good-will it had built up in East Central Europe. The closer the Allied Powers came to victory, the more was the American stake in the area downgraded to a vague moral sponsorship which would find occasional expression in protective rhetoric and diplomatic protests, not in steadfast resolve.

During President Roosevelt's last two years, as testified by Harry Hopkins, the assumption was that Europe, the whole of Europe, would be living in the shadow of Soviet power. It was therefore imperative for the United States to maintain the friendliest relations with Moscow. The need for an adequate counter-weight to Soviet power in Europe was not among President Roosevelt's concerns. Peace was to come not from balance, but from the elimination of the two major defeated powers (to the clear advantage of the Soviet Union); from deferring to the wishes of the only remaining continental great power in Europe, and from reliance on an untested, veto-burdened, and therefore still-born United Nations.

The Sovietization of East Central Europe was implicit not only in the absence of any serious concern for the post-war European equilibrium but also in the wartime summit decision (Teheran) acknowledging exclusive spheres of military operation for the Soviet Union. American policy toward

the area was characterized increasingly by a sharp dichotomy between principles, pledges, and general rhetoric on the one side, and United States action on the other side. The Yalta Conference had set a pattern: on concrete issues, such as the establishment of Polish and Yugoslav governments qualifying for United States-British recognition, the Soviet Union would get exactly what it wanted, i.e. communist-controlled governments with a temporary sprinkling of non-communists. The two Western Powers would receive in return the vague and ambiguous Declaration on Liberated Europe whose call for free elections had already been nullified by the recognition (at Yalta) of the Polish and Yugoslav regimes.

By 1947, even the diplomatic notes of protest against the systematic infringement of wartime and post-war commitments--in themselves rather weak tokens of United States and U.K. concern--were discontinued. By then, the communist regimes had gained recognition from the Western Powers. With the adoption of the policy of containment, the direct American message to East Central Europe had become negative: no change in the status quo is in sight. East European morale found sustenance in the indirect message conveyed by news of America's continued involvement in Europe (as illustrated by the Marshall Plan, the founding of NATO or the Berlin air-lift), by the strong United States reaction to the communist agression in Korea, as well as by the widespread belief that the Soviet rulers would eventually commit a blunder of sufficient magnitude to induce the United States to respond forcefully.

The United States counter-offensive in Korea and the "liberation policy" promised by General Eisenhower in his presidential campaign brought two short upsurges of hope. The first died a natural death with the no-win-no-lose armistice. The second was gradually whittled down to declarations of good feelings and best wishes, and a policy limited to the goal of fostering national communism.

The Polish October Revolution and the spontaneous Hungarian Revolution indicated that the involvement of the United States in such activities as political broadcasts was viewed in East Central Europe as evidence of a clear-cut American purpose justifying the expectation of effective support. It all ended with a short-lived moral defeat for the USSR and a durable strategic gain for Moscow. The latter had demonstrated to the peoples of East Central Europe that they could not rely on American help; it had proved to the communist elite everywhere that it could depend absolutely on Soviet backing, and if necessary, armed intervention. (The spontaneous and leaderless Hungarian revolution of 1956 is, incidentally, in several ways related to the pattern of events which led to the fait accompli of the fall of 1918. Closer investigation may confirm that spontaneous disintegration constitutes the typical form revolution assumes in East Central Europe, and that this form of revolution, more than other forms, may prove the nemesis of the one surviving imperial structure in Europe.)

From Liberation to Liberalization

The effectiveness of United States and USSR-backed United Nations policy in the Suez crisis and its timid approach to the "Question of Hungary", i.e. short-lived--brings to a close the post-World War II chapter of American policy toward the area, its governments and peoples.

Insurrection combined with United States deterrence of Soviet intervention, the logical policy during a period of very substantial United States military superiority, are now clearly rejected. In fact, this policy had been implied rather than explicitly practiced. It was now replaced by the goal of internal "liberalization" or external "independence".

The ringing inaugural speech of President Kennedy was the last high level United States pronouncement in support of world freedom. It proved to be another exercise in oratory rather than a policy to be actively pursued. By 1962, with the President's speech at American University in Washington, D.C., "adjustment to realities" became the guideline of United States policy in East Central Europe.

Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, a new approach of cultivating regimes instead of encouraging their subjects, gets a name: the policy of "building bridges" ("peaceful engagement" being its academic equivalent). The proclaimed task is to create conditions in which the regime would become confident enough to relax internal repression (by de-Stalinization) or assert a measure of independence vis-a-vis the Soviet Union (by de-satellization).

The recognition of East Germany as an independent state and the final act of the Helsinki Conference on European Security giving solemn endorsement to the political and territorial status quo in Europe--represent the most notable consequences of the new policy of the Western World.

In Search of an Effective United States Policy toward East Central Europe

The key questions calling for a satisfactory answer are two:

-- To what extent do changes toward less repression and more apparent independence represent the natural consequences of a new Soviet confidence grounded on what the Soviet leaders like to call "the new correlation of forces"?

-- Are such changes, real or merely perceived acts of defiance toward the Soviet Union, or are they designed to render the policy of detente more credible and thus more effective?

In the light of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, one may postulate that, internally, the Soviet rulers would not permit change to a multi-party system and/or real advance to free speech and assembly.

In regard to changes toward independence, it can be safely assumed that Soviet Russia has been tolerating and is likely to tolerate gestures and rhetoric helpful to Moscow's European strategy aimed at bringing about the dissolution of NATO by undermining, in the West, any sense of a common danger.

The active participation of Polish armed forces in the invasion of Czechoslovakia should dispose of the argument that extending large-scale aid and credits (as did the West for Poland) and displaying friendship toward the communist regimes stimulated change in the desired direction.

An effective Western response to the Soviet danger must proceed from knowledge of the present sources of Soviet weakness and strength. The major source of communist weakness is the latent internal opposition to the system, both in the USSR and in the satellite lands. The major source of Soviet strength is superior capability in the field of conventional warfare. However, much the United States and her allies may strive to surmount this disadvantage, they cannot hope to catch up within the dangerous years ahead. The only practical alternative is in finding and developing other countervailing factors of deterrence by means of a purposeful Western policy. Such policy would be designed: (a) to foster internal tension in the Soviet Union; (b) to revive the spirit of resistance in non-Russian Eastern Europe; (c) and ultimately to bring about open societies which alone can generate, in this nuclear age, effective safeguards against a nuclear holocaust. For the key to world peace is not in the non-proliferation of engines of extermination, but in the proliferation of freedom under law.

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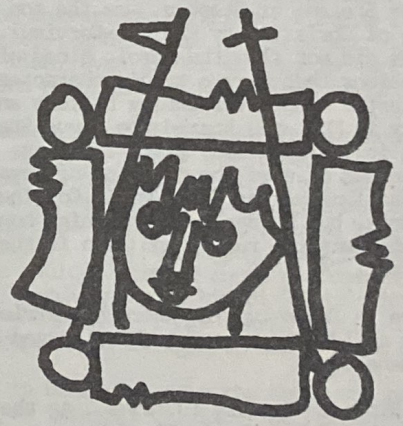

Ioan Lupas:

TWO ROMANIANS HUMANISTS OF THE 16TH CENTURY*

Researchers of our literary and cultural history have recently begun to follow with more interest the life and activity of those sons of the Romanian people, who, because of the vicissitudes of the past, could not develop their full potential within the boundaries of their motherland, and sought instead close relationships with other nations, identifying themselves with them, and dedicating the entire work of their lives to our people.

If we cannot ignore the work of the Moldavian Chroniclers of the 14th century, Macarie, Eftimie, and Azarie, who extolled the praises of their protectors of the Moldavian realm in slavonian epithets and sentences very often borrowed from the Chronicler Manasse (Synopsis Historike), it is only natural that we remember at least those sons of our people, who, under the invluence of Latin humanism, educated themselves and wrote in this language.

We have not only the right, but also the duty to redeem two Romanian Humanists, Nicolae Olahul, and Mihail Valahul, who, away from the pious and yet troublesom life of the Romanian people, still succeeded in attaining a determining role in the public life of the XVI century, one in the cultural, religious, and political life of Hungary, and the other in that of Transylvania.

Nicolae Olahul was originally from Muntenia, descending from the noble family of Draculesti, as he himself asserts in a letter dated March 7, 1553. His father Stoian, or Stephan, was the son of Marina, sister of the famous hero of Christianity Huniade-Corvinul. It seems, however, that in his veins did not flow the heroic blood of his uncle, nor was he stirred by the passions that were a tragic characteristic of the descendants of the Draculesti. The never-ending hatreds and the murders perpetrated by this family in Muntenia scared the pious Stephan, and made him decide to take refuge in Transylvania, first in Sibiu, and later in Orastie, where in 1504[1] he was offered the position of royal judge of the city. Because of his close family ties, Kind Matia Corvinul wanted to send him to rule in Mentenia, but he declined this high honor, saying, "the Turks can kill or send away the ruler, and even if they don't do it, very often the Romanians will."[2]

He remained therefore in Transylvania, where he married Varvara Huszar, who gave him four children: two sons (Nicolae and Matei), and two daughters (Ursula and Ileana).[3]

Nicolae was born in Sibiu on January 10, 1943. At the age of 17, he became attendant at the court of King Louis II of Hungary, but because he loved books more than the brilliance of the royal court, he soon exchanged

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*Studii, Conferinţe şi Comunicări Istorice, vol. 1, Bucureşti, 1927.

his political career for the priesthood. In 1522, he became Monsignor of Strigoniu. After the death of his protector, the Metropolit Szatmari in 1524, he was appointed advisor to King Louis II, and Queen Maria. He served them faithfully and devotedly during the troublesom days of the battle of Mohaci, and also during those unfortunate times that befell Hungary after the defeat of August 29, 1526.

Maria's brother, Ferdinand, King of the Western portion of then divided Hungary, wanted Nicolae Olahul to be the Secretary of the Hungarian royal Chancery, but he stayed with the widowed Queen, wandering with her from town to town, until they reached Augusburg in 1530 at the time when the great spiritual war between Catholics and Protestants began. He had therefore the chance to observe first-hand the intellectual turmoil which molded the historic process that had such important consequences in the unfolding of universal history.

From Germany he went to Belgium, where Queen Maria was given the governorship of the Netherlands by her brother, Charles V. He stayed there for 5 years (1533-38). During his wanderings through these foreign lands, he was often tortured by nostalgia, missing his country very much. He would have been very happy to return home among his own, but a sentiment of gratitude toward the Widow Queen made him stay, because he did not want to leave her during those troubled times, as he wrote in a letter to the Bishop of Sirmiu.[4] On the other hand, because of his mild and quiet nature, not unlike that of his father, he did not dare return until a permanent peace was agreed upon among Hungarians, Turks, and Germans. For this reason, he wrote his friend, Cornel Schepper: "If peace will prevail in Hungary, and things will turn for the better, nothing will retain me here, not the sound of your artistic bells, not the beauty of your fireplaces, full of warmth and ashes, not the softspoken words of your women, not liberty, not even the conversation with wise men could retain me here, no matter how inviting. Freedom I could have at home, if I will not seek glory, and if I will be content with what little I get. Wise men I could find, even if not as many as here; good books I could find even more, and among them I would feel as if I were in Italy."[5]

After the peace treaty of Oradea Mare, between the two Hungarian Kings, Ferdinand of Habsburg and Ioan Zapolya (1538), Nicolae returned to Hungary. After he saw how bad the situation was there, he did not stay long, but returned to Belgium where he continued to serve Queen Maria until 1542, at which time he had to comply with King Ferdinand's wishes and become his counsellor. In 1543 he was named Bishop of Zagreb, with the condition that he would remain at court and continue to be the counsellor. Five years later, Ferdinand made him Bishop of Agria as a reward for his participation in the battle of Muehlberg[6] during the Schmalkadic war, and promoted him Metropolit of Strigonia, and Primate of Hungary on May 7, 1553.

Catholicism in Hungary, as in the West, was passing at that time through a period of internal crisis. The Reform movement was penetrating all over, shaking the discipline and authority of the hierarchy, and alienating the possessions of the Church and the souls of the faithful. Nicolae Olahul was raised under the influence of lay humanism. (He celebrated Mass for the first time on February 29, 1552.) He favored the current religious reforms, but from the time he reached the highest step of the Hungarian hierarchy, he understood the critical situation of the Church and the serious responsibility he had assured. From the time he was a bishop in Agria, he persecuted the Lutherans in Hungary, and

Transylvania; thus the order sent by King Ferdinand in 1552 to the Transylvanian Prince Andrei Bathori, asking him to defend with all his power the Catholic faith and to destroy as much as possible the Lutheran sect, bore also the signature of Nicolae Olahul.[7]

After the occupation of Strigoniu by the Turks, he moved to Tarnavia, and began his religious activity with great devotion, trying to eradicate those bad practices that had begun to take root among the priests and the faithful. Often he convoked synods of bishops and priests, in order to teach them how to combat protestant teachings; he expropriated the Protestants and even wrote a catechism[8] and a prayer book (Brevarium, published in Vienna in 1554.) He reorganized the school of Tarnavia (1554) and kept a lookout for good students, whom he helped with money donations. For example, the famous historians of the XVI century, Nicolae Istvanli and Francisc Forgach, were protegees of the Romanian Bishop Nicolae Olahul.

I discovered some original letters in the archives of the Bruckenthal Museum of Sibiu, in which Nicolae Olahul advised the priests of the Saxons in Sibiu and Brasov not to abandon the Catholic faith, and, promising them his support, invited them to the Synod held in August, 1554. In a letter dated December 2, 1554, addressed to the dean of the priests and to the leaders of the lay population of Sibiu, he thanked God for the containment of this disease (the Reformation) which had troubled even Sibiu in that year, and talked with emotion of his love for the place where he was born and raised, a place blessed by God with many good things. (moti igitur... amore et charitate in patriam, in qua nati et longo tempore educati et multis Dei donis gratuito adfecti). He again addressed himself to them, exhorting them to return to that unity of faith they had known before, when they had lived in total peace. At that time, wrote Bishop Nicolae, the whole country was prospering, as was the government, but more than anything else, their city was prosperous, that capital and metropolis of all the Saxons, (Caput et Metropolis Saxonicalium civitatum). He asked them again, "per viscera Jesu Christi", (in the name of Christ) to return to obedience, and he asked the lay leaders to send away the priests that had not been instituted in accordance with the old rules, and to elect others whose faith and teaching were in accordance with the doctrine of the Catholic Church. His exhortations, however, were of no avail; the priests of the Saxons convened in a Synod in Sibiu[9] that very year and elected as their head Paul Wiener, completing thereby the organization of the Lutheran Church that had begun 12 years before with Ioan Honterus of Brasov.

* * *

Unhappy with the moral and cultural situation of his priests, he founded in 1556 the first seminary at Tarnavia, following the instructions of the Council of Trent, the second session of which he had attended.

His efforts were not always successful. This filled his soul with bitterness and sorrow, and on May 25, 1563, he asked his collegues of the Council of Trent to advise and help him. To substantiate his pleas, he said: "We cannot believe that you, reverend fathers, will overlook the great scarcity of priests that plague us. Just as serious is the fact that there are very few priests who follow a holy life; almost all live like lay

people and, ignoring their oath, get married. . . And this ugly and awkward behavior of our priests is spreading very rapidly, especially in the rural areas, so much that there are very few well-to-do families left who would not consider the marriage of their daughter to a priest a very special honor. We, by virtue of the power invested in us by our King and Lord, and in virtue of our holy office, try to stop this trend in all possible ways, but, as I said before, all our efforts are in vain because of the lack of self respect of these people. Every time we accept a new priest, through the usual procedure, at the time or their ordination, they promise under oath not to marry. But, ignoring the sanctity of their oath, they break it, and soon after ordination, they get married. What can we say? Every year I convoke a Synod; they come to the Synod, but have already decided to abandon the priesthood rather than their wives. For this reason, I put some of them in prison, some I sent away, and the most ignorant and stubborn, I stripped of their rank. I burned publicly the books that are heretical and condemned, and even though some, scared by these examples, would return to the right way, even then I gained nothing, for on one side their lay patrons keep them against our will, and on the other they run to the heretics. It follows, and I say this with bitter sorrow, that this scarcity of Catholic priests has caused our faithful to be born, live, and die like animals. There is no one there to give them the holy Sacraments, or to instruct them in their Christian faith and religion."[10]

His efforts were nevertheless appreciated and rewarded by the Emperor Ferdinand, who bestowed upon him and his relatives the title of Baron of the Empire (1558), not only because of his noble origin, but also because of his service to the dynasty, the country, and the Church.[11] Moreover, in 1562, he was elevated to the highest rank in the political life of the country, that of Regent of Hungary. Once before, in the XV century, another Romanian (Matia Corvinul), closely related to Nicolae Olahul, had ruled Hungary in splendor for more than three decades.

Laden with merits and distinction, Nicolae Olahul died in Bratislava on January 14, 1568. From here, his remains were taken to Tarnavia and lay forever in the Church of St. Nicholas.

As a humanist, he knew many languages: Romanian, German, Hungarian, and Latin; during his journeys, he learned also Greek and French. He entertained friendly communications with the humanists of the Western world, especially with Erasmus of Rotterdam, whom he greatly appreciated, to the point of cabling him in one of his letters "divinum igenium"[12] and mourned his death in elegiac verses.[13] He wrote poetry in Latin and his verses were published by his friends. Among his humanist friends were the historian Ursinus Velius of Silesia, the educator of the children of Ferdinand, and the Italian Paulus Iovius, to whom he sent information about Hungary.

He wrote an historico-ethnographic work entitled "Hungaria"[14] in which he talked about his own Muntenian origin, his relationship to the Huniades, (in chapter 12), giving a description of Muntenia (terra plana aquarumque indiga), of Moldavia[15], of Transylvania, and of the Banat (chapter 17: De Provincia Themesiensi et huius vicina).

He also wrote a historical book about Attila[16], and a chronicle (Chronicon), in which he talked about contemporary events, beginning with the coronation of the Emperor Ferdinand. Among his writing, of religious character, besides the Brevarium and the Cathechism mentioned before, he also wrote the "Instructio Pastoralis ad Clerum" published in Tarnavia in 1560.[17]

His style is humanistic in nature, and tends to use those expressions that are closest to the symmetry, clarity, and beauty of classical Latin, while cultivating the form more than the content. His work about Attila was translated into Polish by C. Bazylik who omitted the last chapter as it discussed the Szekelys as descendants of the Huns, a topic of little interest to a Polish reader.[18]

II

The second Romanian Humanist of the XVI century, Mihail Valahul (Csaki), was not a writer of the magnitude of Olahul, but was nevertheless a very prominent figure in the political life of trouble-ridden Transylvania, at that time, a semi-independent principality under the protection of the Turks. He was born around 1490, into the Romanian family of Bihor, whose predecessors had received the title of Knight in 1268 as a reward for their military services in favor of the young Hungarian King Stephan V, whom they helped in his battles against his father, Bela IV.[19]

With the help of the Transylvanian Bishop, he was sent to study in Cracovia, in 1525. When he returned, he became a priest in Crasna in 1543 (Arhidiaconus de Crasna) and monsignor of the Alba-Iulia (decanus et canonicus Albensis). At that time Transylvania was torn apart by political factions and sudden changes of government. These political turmoils awakened in Valahul an interest in politics and convinced him to offer his faithful services to the Zapolya family, to whom he remained a steady and faithful friend all his life. With his exemplary attitude and firm convictions, he came to the attention of many people,[20] and gained the of Queen Izabella who made him her secretary in 1550, and entrusted to him the education of her younger son, Ioan Sigismund, the future Prince of Transylvania (1559-1571). Because of his important role in the affairs of state, he attracted the enmity of the monk George Martinuzzi, with whom he previously had friendly relations and whom he had even hosted in his house and accompanied to Oradea Mare.[21] In 1541, in his capacity as substitute for the Queen, Martinuzzi had granted to Mihail a dispensation from taxation on all his income as a priest and monsignor of Alba Transilvana, for as long as he would serve as the secretary of the Queen and of her son. (quoad in servitiis Majestatis reginalis filiique sui illustrissimi fuerit occupatus[22].)

It seems that Martinuzzi was the last statesman that tried to save the integrity of the Hungarian monarchy. Izabella was severely controlled by this stern monk who forbade her to misuse the finances of the country. Probably because of this control, her trusted man, Mihail Csaki, wrote directly to the Mayor of Sibiu, Petru Haller, to tell him that the Queen expected to send the money as soon as possible (mittatur pecuncia citissime). In the same letter of April 20, 1551, Mihail tells him not to believe the rumors on the loss of Ardeal on the part of the Queen and

her son, for widows and orphans are in the care of the Lord (pupillum enim et viduam suscipiet Dominus). In spite of all his efforts, however, Martinuzzi successfully completed his project to place Transylvania under the "protection" of the Habsburgs, together with the western and northern portion of Hungary. On the 1st of August of the same year, Izabella was forced to hand over to Ferdinand the crown of Hungary; she retired again to Casovia, from where she eventually went to Poland with her younger son in 1552.

As a faithful servant of the Zapolya family, Mihail also left Transylvania and went to Poland where he lived until the summer of 1556, when a revolt of the people of Transylvania, unhappy with the military government of the Austrian general Castaldo, recalled Queen Izabella and her son Ioan Sigismund. Mihail's influence over the rule of Transylvania had diminished however, because the Queen had brought with her from Poland a friend of hers the nobleman Stanislau Niezowksy, and was according him too much trust, so much, in fact, that the people of Transylvania planned a conspiracy against her. Izabella's reaction was quick; on the first of September, 1558, she beheaded Francisc Bebek, and Francisc and Antholy Kendi. Mihail himself was suspected but his life was spared because his innocence was established.

On the 20th of September, 1559, Izabella died at the age of 38, and her son, Ioan Sigismund, took over; he very willingly allowed his former teacher to advise him in all matters of state.[23]

On December 2, 1559, Mihail and Christopher Hagymasi were sent to Vienna to court the daughter of Ferdinand for their King and to obtain for him the right to the crown and the title of King of Hungary so that he and his successors would enjoy the same rights that their predecessors had enjoyed as Kings of Hungary.[24] Although he did not succeed in this diplomatic mission, his trip helped the interest of Ardeal because Ferdinand signed an armistice with it for one year.[25] Two years later, after the defeat of the Szekelys (1562), Mihail received the unpleasant task of executing all the leaders of the revolution in the name of his ruler. In 1564 he was named regent (locumtenens) for the government of Transylvania because Prince Ioan Sigismund had to leave the country with an army of 16,000 soldiers and aid the Sultan Soliman against Maximilian, the successor of Ferdinand.[26]

Ioan Sigismund was a weak and sickly young man. Obsessed with the fear of death, he drew his will early in 1567, naming as his beneficiaries his Chancellor Mihail Csaki, the Captain of Oradea, Christofor Hagymasi, Stanislau Niezowski, and Gaspar Bekesi, a Romanian of the Banat region. Gaspar Bekesi was sent to the Emperor Maximillian, in the spring of 1570, to ask for the hand of one of his nieces, in the name of Ioan Sigismund, who, at that time, was feeling a little less ill, and had begun to think of the future of his dynasty and of his country. The mission of Bekesi had some results; they agreed that one of Maximilian's nieces would marry Sigismund, but he had to renounce the title of King, and had to accept that of "princeps serenissimus", while ruling over Bihor, Crasna, Solno, and Maramures with the title of "dominus partium regni Hungariae". If he were to die without successors, the people of Transylvania would have the right to elect another prince, who would be subordinate to Maximilian and would not have the title of Prince, but of "Wayvoda Transilvanus et partium regni Hungariae locumtenens". In the event that he would be dispossessed

by the Turks, he was promised the Duchies of Oppeln and Ratibor in Silesia, as a place of refuge.[27]

When Beseki returned to Transylvania with these terms, Chancellor Mihail was among the first to recommend that the agreement be ratified. But the projected marriage did not take place, because Ioan Sigismund died on March 15, 1571, while the marriage discussions were still going on.[28]

After the death of Ioan Sigismund, the star of Mihail began to wane. The Romanian Diets repeatedly asked him for a report on the administration of the finances of the country and on the execution of the will of his protector. He died in the spring of 1572, unable to fulfill this last duty.

Although all the political power of Transylvania was concentrated in his hands, Mihail died a poor man. The only thing this "summus consularius et cancellarius"[29] left to his relatives was a house in Huszt, while his property, which represented 1/3 of the territory of the city of Huszt, went to Baltasar Bornemissa of Capalina and to his brothers Ioan and Paul, as it appears in an insurance act of August 15, 1573, signed by the captain of the city of Huszt, Ioan Bardoczy.

Colonel Giovannadrea Gromo, the commander of the Italian garrison at the court of Ioan Sigismund, in his description of Transylvania, wrote the following lines about the Prince and his advisor, during the years 1564-65: "The Priest and great Chancellor Mihail Valahul. . . during all vicissitudes remained faithful to the ruling family (Zapolya); because of his great merits and his experience and good judgment, he is occupying the post of great chancellor. . . he holds the Prince's seal; he is a man of profound knowledge, faithful, thrifty, cunning, sometimes feigning, who has friendly words and gestures for everyone; he loves Italians. He eats always at the table of the Prince. He is approximately 74 years old, otherwise healthy and robust: he dresses in the Saxon fashion, and worships the same way they do, being the "capo protettore dei Sassoni e della setta Lutherana in Transylvania".[30] The same Gromo calls Mihail the "Viceroy of Transylvania".

The claim that he was the protector of the Saxons is not quite true; contemporary testimony on the part of the Saxons themselves shows him as one of their foes.[31] It is true, however, that this Roman Catholic priest, this Romanian of Bihor, in his soul agreed with the reformation and was himself a protector of the Lutherans.

When those who were spreading Lutheranism in the Barsa region were called before the Transylvanian Diet in 1543, in order to justify their actions, the intolerant monk Martinuzzi asked that they be burned,[32] but Mihail Csaki was against it, and, together with other advisors of Queen Izabella, he succeeded in saving them. Perhaps it was this that caused Martinuzzi's hatred toward him.

Another important proof of the active interest that Mihail held for the religious propaganda of the Lutherans, is the fact that he gave

financial aid to Gaspar Heltai so that he could translate the Bible into the Hungarian language and publish it. The first part of this translation was published in 1551[33], with the approval of Queen Izabella. In the preface, Heltai says that he was aided by a "noble, religious, and God-fearing person, Mihail Csaki of Alba-Iulia, who, unmindful of expenses, generously helped us and the printers with this work."[34]

Gaspar Heltai's work, entitled "Disputatio in causa Sacrosanctae et semper benedictae Trinitatis", which was published in 1568, was also dedicated to Mihail Csaki.

Mihail was known in the West also as a protector of Lutheranism. For this reason, Gheorghe Mairo, doctor and professor of Theology at the University of Wittemberg, dedicated to Mihail Csaki of Ardeal[35] a book he had published in 1569 against the Unitarians, who had found a friend in Prince Ioan Sigismund himself. We see here again, a proof of the special consideration the various confessional (religious?) groups were paying to the wise Chancellor of Transylvania, especially when they were vying with each other. He had succeeded in gaining this total trust because of his prudent attitude, an attitude born from his humanistic concepts of justice and religious freedom for everyone.

He knew how to capitalize on these concepts even in the government of Transylvania, when he advised Ioan Sigismund to open the doors to all the religious currents. For this reason, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism all took root and gained headway during his presence in the government of Transylvania.

Mihail remained to the end a protector of Lutheranism, while maintaining an attitude of tolerance toward the other currents of religious reform. He even steered toward this tolerance the participants in a theological discussion that was held in Alba Iulia in March, 1568; he closed the meeting in the name of the Prince, with the advice that they follow tolerance and understanding, and the assurance that the Prince guaranteed religious freedom, according to the advice of Gamaliel.[37]

III

In the preceding pages we have shown, in a very sketchy way, a few aspects of the lives of the two Romanian humanists of the XVI century, Nicolae Olahul and Mihail Valahul. The first distinguished himself more as a writer of the humanist movement, the second as a political and religious leader of humanistic tendencies. While Nicolae changed his attitude of humanism after he was raised to the rank of Metropolite of Strigonium and became an intolerant persectuor of those who followed a different religious conviction, Mihail maintained to the end a calm and serene attitude, imposed on him by his humanistic ideals. As a Roman Catholic priest, he never admitted that his religious convictions were on the side of the Lutherans, whom he helped and protected with all his power, but, at the same time, he paid due respect to those of other convictions. He was a true representative of the reform movement, a wise protector of religious freedom, and a patron of those who spread the knowledge of the holy scriptures. His contemporary, Nicolae Olahul, instead must be considered the initiator of the counter-reformation movement

in Hungary; he was a man who, notwithstanding his reputation as a good writer, respected by contemporaries and posterity alike, could not respect in his practical life that freedom of religion that his humanist convictions should have called for.

The great ideas that marked the period of the reformation and counter-reformation with a particular character in the development of universal history, are partially mirrored in the activities of Nicolae Olahul of Muntenia and of Mihail Valahul of Bihor. Through their works, recorded in the annals of the 16th century, even our people have a part in the multicolored tapestry woven for us by the history of those troublesome times, which have shaped the concepts of modern life.

Their memory must be preserved in the annals of Romanian history as proof of the priceless talent given by our people to the neighboring countries, talents which have greatly contributed to their progress and fame.

Translated by:

Enea Motiu

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Saxons of Orastie and those of Sibiu were protesting against the nomination of Stephan, considering their privileges infringed upon, but the King assured them that their privileges would be respected. Cf. Hurmuzaki, Documente Privitoare La Istoria Romanilor, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 519-520.

[2]Monumenta Hungariae Historica, series 1. vol. XXV. Ipoly Arnold, Olah Miklos levelezese, p. 310-311; Szazadok, 1910, p. 189.

[3]Nicolae Olahul in his work "Hungaria." cf. Mathias Bel, Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae, Posonii, 1735, p. 23.

[4]Monumenta Hungariae Historica, I, p. 573.

[5]Ibidem, vol. 25, p. 313.

[6]Torok Ianos, Magyarorszag primasai kozjogi es torteneti vazolat. Budapest, 1859, II, p. 112.

[7]cf. Magyar Tort. Tar. vol. XIX, p. 6.

[8]In the library of the Museum Brukenthal of Sibiu, there is a volume for which the first page is missing; in its place, there is the following note: "Explicatio de sacramento, fide et operibus 4, Vienae 1561, and the indication "Liber Bibliothecae Gymn. Cib. A. C".

[9]Iohann Georg Schaser, Geschichte des Hermannstaedter Capitels. Hermann-stadt 1848, p. 17-18.

[10]Bucholtz, Geschichte der Regierung Fredinands des Ersten. Urkundenband. Wien, 1838, p. 694-698.

[11]Torok Magyarorszagprimasai II pp. 111-114 published Ferdinand's decree in its entirety. The decree speaks in highly laudatory terms about Nicolae Olahul and his predecessors.

[12]Monumenta Hungariae Historica, p. 9.

[13]Ibidem, p. 586-587.

[14]Hungaria sive de originibus gentis, regionis situ, divisione, habitu atque opportunitatibus, edited by M. Bel: Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae, I, 1735.

[15]In his comparison of the Muntenians with the Moldavians, he writes: "Lingua ritu, religione eadem Moldaviutuntur, qua Transalpini; vestitu aliqua saltem ex parte differunt. Indicant se Transalpinis esse et generosiores et magis strenuos, equis praestant".

About Transylvania and Transylvanians: "Ex Transalpina et arduus est ingressus. Hanc ob rem Turcae, qui hinc invasernut Transsilvaniam, magnam saepe a parva manu accepere cladem. Facilius ex Transsilvaniam. Nam itinera eius roboribus sucisis facile coarctari possunt. Gens adhaec, membris bene compacta, belicosa armata et equis robustis bonisque provisa. Regio tota nunc planitiem nunc silvas alternatim habet; aquarum divortiis flexionibusque intersecta, agri fertilis, vini ferax, auri, argenti, ferri, aliorumque mettallorum, praeterea salis plena; bovum, ferrarum, usorum, piscium abundatissima, ut naturam acusare non possis, quin omnia vitae commoda in eam contulerit regionem... Vlachi, Romanorum coloniae esse traduntur. Eius rei argumentum est, quod multa habeant communia cum idiomate Romano, cuius populi pleraque numismata, eo loci reperiuntur; haud dubie magna vetustatis imperiique Romanistic indicia" cf. M. Bel, Adparatus p. 25-26.

A contemporary of Olahul, Verancius (De situ Transilvaniae, Moldaviae et Transalpinae), observes that the people of Muntenia, taken by an inborn insanity (innata quadam insania agitati), killed almost all their Lords, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly. The Moldavians instead are more stable, mentally, and not so cruel to their Lords, who, after they are installed, are faithfully honored and followed, unless they become tyrants (summa fide colunt et amore prosequuntur, nisi in tyrannidem lapsus fuerit): A. Papiu-Ilarianu "Treasure of historical monuments III Bucharest, 1864, pp. 181-182. The same V. makes the following observation: the Mentenians became Turkicized in their customs and their manner of dress, but the Moldavians respect very strongly their costumes, and anyone who adopts foreign dress, sabres or other things, from the Turks or any other nation, is punished with death. (Ibid. p. 179).

[16]Ed. Sambucus, together with the history of Bonfini, in the volume "Antonii Bonfini Historia Pannonica", Frankfurt, 1581 and Coloniae 1690, (637-659).

[17]For the others, see Szinnyei Iozsef, Magyar irok elete es munkai. vol. IX. Budapest, 1902, p. 1270-1271.

[18]A. Bruekner, Ein weissrussischer Codex miscellaneus, in "Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, 1886, Ix, p. 379.

[19]Hurmzaki-Densusianu, "Documente Privitoare la Istorica Romanilor 1199-1345, Bucharest, 1887, p. 336. The Romanian origin of Mihail Valachul (Csaki) has been proven by Josif Kemeny, in the German translation of the work of the Italian Giovannadrea Gromo in: "Archiv des Vereines fuer siebenbuergische Landeskunde, Brasov, 1885, p. 75. In his writing, he talks about the political and ecclesiastical career of Mihail Vlashul, with all its adventures, the most interesting of which are reproduced in the following pages.

[20]His contemporary Antonius Verantius, who had the opportunity of knowing first-hand the situation and the people of Ardeal, wrote from Alba-Iulia, on April 2, 1547, the following praising remarks about Mihail: "hic inter multos amicos mihi est unus quidem amicissimus, Michael Cziacchius professione atque ordine sacerdos, dignitate canonicus et arhidiaconus, vir plane multarum virtutum ornamentis commendabilis et spirtu christiano ad imitandum usque imbutus", cf. Szalay Laszlo, Verancsics Antal Osszes munkai, vol. VI. vegyes levelek. Post 1860. pp. 253-254 (Mon. Hung. Hist IX).

[21]Bunyitay Vincze, A varadi puppokseg egyhazai Oradea Mare 1884. p. 419.

[22]Karacsonyi Kollanyi es Luksies, Egyhaz-tortenlmi emelek a magyarorszagi hitujitas korabol Budapesta 1912. p. 573.

[23]Matthias Miles Siebenburgischer Wurgengel p. 76: "Unterdessen regierte Johannes II das Land zu Hause ganzans Unterrichtung Mihaelis Csaki, seines Obersten Rates, Kanzlers und Weissenburger Canonici". Francisc Forgach in Rerum Hungaricarum sui temporis Commentarii (ed. Posonii et Cassoviae 1786, p. 211: "Summam omnium rerum potestatem qui habuerunt et qui suo arbitratu Ioannem regebant, erant Michael Csaky a scrinus, Ioannes Szalanczy, Stanislaus Nysovszky Polonus et Georgius Biandrata Pedemontanus" p. 337.

[24]"Ut die nuptiarum princeps noster serenissimus una cum future sponsa sua serenissima corona Hungarica solenniter ornetur, ut serenissimus Dominus Ioannes Secundus, eiusque posteri et heredes titulo et nomine regis Hungariae gaudeant et fruantur et vere in litteris et extra litteras Rex Hungariae passim honorifice appelletur, vocetur, nominetur, ipse et eius posteri atque haeredes et eo jure, autoritate et potestate habeant et possideant regnum, sicuti praedecessores veri reges Hungariae habuerunt" cf. Lukinich Imre", Az erdelyi feidelmi czim kialakulasanak torte netehez in Szazadok 1913, p. 96 nota 2.

[25]The contemporary Chronicler Hieronim Ostermayer (Deutsche Fundgruben I p. 66) writes this about the journey: Eodem mense (Maio 1560) hat der Hans-Konig den Csaki Mihaly zum Konig Ferdinando geschickt nach Wienen. Dieser hat guten Frieden bracht, also dass die Kauffleut wieder haben bis Wien handein konnen".

[26]cf. Roderich Gooss Ostereichische Staatsvertrage. Furstentum Siebenburgen 1526-1690. Wien 1911, p. 154-6.

[27]Archiv des Vereines fur siebenburgische Landeskunde 1855 p. 104-5; Roderich Gooss, Osterreichische Staatsvertrage Furstentum Siebenburgen 1526-1690. Wien, 1911, p. 182.

[28]R. Gooss o.c. pp. 200-201.

[29]Archiv. pp. 103 and 107.

[30]Ibid. pp. 37, 92, 2nd 93. Gromo mentions also a certain Gheorghe Csaki, a leader of highwaymen, courageous and loyal, 40 years old, and of Greek religion (p. 40). He was, therefore, a Romanian, probably the father of Stefan Csaki, about whom Mihai Viteazul wrote, in one of his acts in February 3, 1600, "inter caros habere soleo". cf. Monumenta comitialia Regni Transilvaniae, vol. IV, p. 491.

[31]Ibidem p. 112: "Michael Csaki, Kanzler, ein erbgeborner Deutschen. Feind" Kemeny Deutsche Fundgruben p. 92 si 149.

[32]Ibidem p. 116: Aderant iam omnes, cum Martinusius, ut suam pro asserenda cruiae Romanae autoritate fidem graviter probaret, Lutheranae religionis Doctores rogo imponere et cremare postulabat, sed Urbanus Batyani, Reginae consiliarius, Michael Csaki iiidem Reginae Consiliarius et Adrianus medicinae Doctor, Arhidiaconus Dobocensis, accuratiori consideratione rem dignam esse asserebant et ut ad colloquium admiterentur... Extrema tentare cupiebat Mariinusius et tentasset, nisi Consiliarii jam nominati vim omnem inhibuissent salvosque ad suos ut redire Lutheranos juberet, monuissent. apud, G. Haner, Historia Eccl. p. 199.

[33]Ibidem, a Biblianak elso resze. Az az Mosenek knoyve mely magyar nyelvre ttardittatof a Regi es Igaz Szent Konyvekbol 1. Genesis. 2. Exodus. 3. Levitikus. 4. Numeri. 5. Deuteronomium. cum Gratia et privilegio Reginalis Majestatis Colosvarba 1551.

[34]Ibidem, p. 119.

[35]Ibidem, p. 124.

[36]Ibidem pag. 125: "Reverendissimo Domino Domino Michaeli Czakio genere, eruditione ac pietate clarissimo, serenissimi Principis Domini Ioannis Secundi Electi Regis Hungariae Supremo Cancelario ac consiliaro fidelissimo Domino observandissimo".

[37]Ibidem, pag.122: "Hic Serenissimus Princeps, ut disputationi finis jam tandem imponeretur, jussit per Reverendissimum D. Michaelem Csakium, qui ut eruditione et profundo judicio clarus, iuculenta oratione Ecclesiam ad concordian primo ineundam admonuit... Ceterum se quoque ultro etiam disputandi, conveniendi, modesteque involgandi quid quid unicuique collibuisset, provincium clementer concedere, velle enim Suam Majestatem regnum suum liberum esse religionis ergo consiliumque Gamalielis sequi". Apud Brevis Enarratio Disputationis Albanae de Deo Trino et Christo Duplici, coram Serenissimo Principe et tota ecclesia decem diebus habita Anno Domini MDLXVIII 8 Martij."

Rodica Botoman:

PANAIT ISTRATI (1884-1935)

In January 1921, a letter was sent to Romain Rolland from the hospital in Nice. It had been found on the body of a man who had, in desperation, cut his throat. "I read it - says Rolland - and I was struck by his overwhelming talent. It was the confession of a new Gorki of the Balkans. We succeeded in saving his life. I wanted to meet him. We became friends. His name is Panait Istrati".[1]

Panait Istrati emerged as an author through this miraculous incident and made a sudden and brilliant entry into the literary scene. Viewed as both a Romanian and a French author, also subject of vehement political controversies, this writer about whom were created so many legends, lived his legend intensely.

Born in Baldovinesti, near Braila (Romania) the tenth of August 1884, Panait Istrati entered the world as the illegitimate son of a poor laundress, Zoitza Istrati and a Greek smuggler, Gherasim Valsamis. A year later, he lost his father and after, an intimate relationship developed between the future writer and his devoted mother. He began his only formal education at the age of six when he entered the elementary school in Braila. Amid its brutal conditions, little Panait found comfort only in his beloved teacher Moisescu, to whom he grew very close. This teacher instilled the love of literature in his prodigious pupil. However, at the age of twelve, we no longer find him among the students. He left school and worked in different taverns in Braila for under "fifty dollars a year, a suit, a hat, a pair of shoes, and a free day for Easter and Christmas". During this period, he became well known at the harbor for his ability to compose touching "lettres d'amour" for all the unhappy lovers who asked him for help. One day while working in a filthy "plachintaria" he noticed a mysterious, pathetic Russian reading in French Jack by Alphonse Daudet. Istrati was fascinated with this unusual character named Mikhail Kazansky. A powerful friendship developed between these diverse figures. From now on their lives and destinies were intertwined.

At sixteen Panait, together with Mikhail started a new stage in his life: vagabondage. Trekking back and forth through Romania, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, etc, they lived a "véritable odyssée". During these bohemian, adventurous years, Istrati observed life around him, came in contact with a great parade of people, their philosopies and ideals. He read much literature, nurturing his genius for recreating later in his literary work a breathing life on page - splendid pages dedicated to freedom, friendship, and humanitarianism. After nine years (in 1909) he lost his great friend when Mikhail returned to his native Russia where he soon died of tuberculosis. Plunged into a lonely void, Istrati felt the world was "stranger than ever". In his acclaimed novel Mikhail, dedicated to his lost friend, he expresses lyrically: "Amitie... Je ne t'explique pas, je voudrais te chanter" (p. 182).

Soon after, Istrati grew involved with the socialist movement in Romania which he first encountered in 1904. He always empathized with the man who makes the bread and does not have it and the peasant who lived in an "esclavage déguisé en liberté". Thus, between 1909-1916, we find him actively involved as the secretary of the workers' union in Braila and the editor of the Romania Muncitoare newspaper. He also married a socialist militant, Jeanette Maltus. Although immersed in the socialist movement, his sentimentality could not be stifled by any party discipline.

In 1916, he left for Switzerland where he spent four years perfecting his grasp of French, furthering his probe into French literature. (Télémaque of Fenelon among his favorites) and published in 1919 his first article in French Tolstoisme or Bolshevisme?. After that, in 1920, he went to Paris. The "ville lumière" offered to our "vagabond humanitaire" misery in his unsuccessful struggle for existence and in 1921 he tried to commit suicide. Romain Rolland learned of his distress and encouraged the desperate Istrati to continue writing. As a result, his first book, "Kira Kiralina" was published in 1923 and brought him immediate success. The book was translated into more than twenty languages. Literary critics consider him "a conteur spontané", "une force naturelle", a "aède homérique" of the Romanian terra. "I never saw such an immediate universal success as yours" said R. Rolland. Istrati signed a contract with Rieder Publishing House and the rest of his years were dedicated to his literature. Ethereal pages. . . A blend of folklore and autobiography, a near-forgotten world bringing to life the 1001 nights with Romanian heroes resembling Pan himself. Most of his literary work is bathed in the aura of an esoteric idealism. His esthetic is an adaptation of the "religion of art" principles:

> "To love letters and the arts; to enjoy the beauty of the earth, not to join those who would crush men. . . to live in justice and brotherhood; to love a dear friend and to do the most good that one can."[2]

With such an idealistic credo, it was very easy for Istrati to pass from socialism to communism. Invited to go to the Soviet Union, he did not hesitate to see for himself "the paradise" of Stalinist achievements and so he leaves in 1927 for Moscow. A couple of months spent there sufficed to stir within him vehement anti-Soviet militant feelings, seven years before Gide in France expressed the same sentiments. As a result of this trip, he published the three volumes, Vers d'autres flammes (1929). Caustic remarks such as "One has already seen republics without "républicains", we are now aware of a Communist party without communists, Soviets without electors or elected, Unions without union members, "cooperatives" with cooperators",[3] explode damning attacks from the leftist press and cause his separation from the socialist and communist movement.

In 1930, extremely lonely and ill, he returned to Romania, married Marga Izescu and spent his time writing. He begins to collaborate at the Cruciada Romanismului. One of his fiery articles published in 1935 and entitled The Political Testament of an Observer of our Time spews forth his final philosophy with:

> "Since French intellectuals have supported the horror of Communism and they want to impose it on the world, I realize that my compatriots do have the right to support the horror of Fascism. I feel strongly that of the two horrors, the latter is the least inhuman and the only one

which in no way involves the responsibility of the working class, since Fascism does not claim to govern by the people, nor in the name of the proletariat as does Communism".[4]

On the sixteenth of April of that year, he died. Leading the solemn funeral procession, an oxen-led wagon brought Panait Istrati to the cemetery of Belu in Bucharest.

This was the man who left behind him more than twenty volumes of literary work in French and Romanian. His literary work is comprised of four main cycles: The Tales of Adrian Zograffi (Kira Kiralina, Oncle Anghel, the Haidoucs), The Youth of Adrian Zograffi (Codine, Mikhail, etc.) and The Thistles of Baragan (Tzatza Minka, Nerantsoula, Perlmutter Family.) The main character in his work is Adrian Zograffi, Istrati's "vox autori" through whom he reveals to the reader his fabled world. For, if he wrote most of his work in French, it was in Romanian he "dreamed" and there are his roots.

Panait Istrati, a great passionate man who nostalgically defined life as a "escroquerie divine" and love as a "deceptive dream in a moment of forgetfulness", a man who, fighting for solidarity, ended up in solitude. Reminiscent of Rousseau, he figures as an idealist whose personal religion stood upon love for man, friendship, and freedom. An artist of genius, he unveiled to the western world evocative pages that echoed the ancient Romanian ballads of the solitary Carpathians.

The Ohio State University

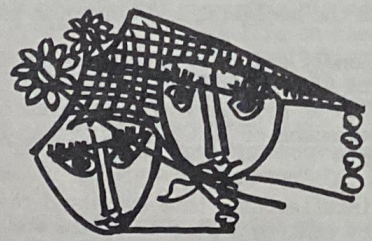
FOOTNOTES

[1]Istrati Panait, Kira Kiralina, Avant propos de Roman Rolland, Paris, Rieder 1924, p. 7.

[2]Istrati Panait, Mikhail, Paris, Rieder 1927, pp. 16, 17.

[3]Istrati Panait, Vers d'autres flammes, Paris, Rieder, 1929, vol. 3, p. 261.

[4]Cruciada Romanismului, 20 May 1935.



Brutus Coste:

Romanian Independence: Reality or Myth ?

I. INTRODUCTION

By his message to the Congress of June 2, 1976, the President has for the second time recommended that his authority to waive, in the case of the Socialist Republic of Romania, subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Foreign Trade of 1974 be extended for another period of 12 months.

The primary reason offered in support of this recommendation is that it will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 which, in the words of the presidential message, is "to encourage Romania's independent policy orientation through the expansion and improvement of bilateral relations."

The very fact that instead of certifying compliance by the Socialist Republic of Romania (hereinafter to be referred to as SRR) with subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the 1974 Foreign Trade Act, the President has chosen to issue another waiver is indicative of the Administration's awareness that the SRR continues to deny to its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate.

This awareness finds its reflection in the wording of all official statements. While not claiming compliance by the SRR with the restrictive provisions of the Foreign Trade Act, they strike nevertheless a mildly positive if qualified note. They usually speak of the "generally positive and encouraging overall trend in emigration from Romania".

When it comes to the much broader area of observance of human rights, the official standard procedure now seems to be to eschew answering such questions as the one directed at the last year's hearings by Representative Bill Archer to Assistant Secretary of State Arthur A. Hartman: is the SRR observing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

Leaving aside the fact that the silence of official spokesmen when faced with such clear-cut questions represents in itself an admission that the Rights of Men are denied to the Romanian people, there is today a practical consensus in the West that the political system in Romania is a Stalinist-type of despotism.

Since the SRR record on emigration and on the observance of human rights was providing a much too shaky ground for making the Romanian regime eligible for non-discriminatory treatment, U.S. Government credits, credit and investment guarantees, it became necessary, in both 1975 and 1976, to base such eligibility primarily on general and subjective considerations of national interest—economic as well as political.

It follows that any realistic discussion of the matter must focus—as we shall endeavor to do—on the major consideration invoked in support of the advantages granted to the SRR, namely the proposition (which is being put forward as an unquestionable fact) that the SRR has been and is pursuing an independent foreign policy which serves the interests of both Romania and the U.S."

II. ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE: REALITY OR MYTH?

During the last twelve years the communist regime in Romania has gradually acquired the reputation of conducting an increasingly assertive, independent foreign policy. In maintaining an unexceptionable line of domestic orthodoxy, it is said, and in skillfully exploiting the Sino-Soviet conflict, the SRR has managed to push to the outer limit limit of Soviet permissiveness without, however, overstepping it.

The factual arguments adduced in support of this widely held viewpoint are, at first sight, quite impressive. We shall list, describe, discuss and, whenever warranted, refute them in the order of their occurence.

1. The SRR is supposed to have thwarted in the early sixties Soviet plans to establish a supranational economic planning system and machinery in the framework of the Council of Economic Assistance (better known under the name of Comecon); to have successfully resisted Soviet pressures to curtail its industrialization and to have sought more than any other East Central European country, to expand trade with the non-communist world, particularly with the industrialized West.

The facts cast serious doubt on the accuracy of this interpretation.

The failure of the Comecon integration attempts is due primarily to two insuperable economic obstacles: (a) the adoption in the late forties of the Soviet pattern of industrial development along autarkic lines, with a high priority to heavy industry, and (b) the inapplicability of the simplest approach to economic

integration—the custom union or common market. Custom duties in non-market economies are meaningless, while the arbitrary currency rates and pricing system preclude the resort to any other means than the extremely difficult method of arbitrary division of specific production tasks.

The important point is that, with the adoption in 1971 of a Comprehensive Program, the process of economic integration has been given a new impetus. Instead of opposing the program, the SSR has become in the last two years the most vocal advocate of increased industrial cooperation and specialization, of the establishment in Romania of joint Comecon enterprises and organizations, as well as of expanded intra-Comecon trade.

Far from opposing the Romanian economic plan for 1960-1965, which provided for the construction of a four million ton capacity steel complex at Galati, on the lower Danube, the Soviets endorsed it and supplied for it many installations. In the West the project was described as one designed to bolster Romanian independence by strengthening its industrial-military underpinning. Few bothered to ask why then was the complex set up less than three miles from the Soviet border. The only opposition to the Galati project came from East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Their reason? Probably the desire to preserve their position as the principal suppliers of heavy industrial products.

As regards foreign trade, Romania's commercial exchanges with Western countries have gone up from 20 percent in 1959 to 35 percent in 1965 and 36.6 percent in 1973, while Soviet trade with the same countries jumped from 25 percent to 36 percent in 1965 and has since been fluctuating around that figure. To the extent Romanian trade with non-communist has grown proportionally faster than that of other communist-ruled states, this could be due to two principal reasons:

(a) Western credits totalling 1.5 billion dollars were extended in the seventies to SRR in recognition of its "independent" foreign policy.

(b) Romania has been conducting an increasingly one-way trade with underdeveloped and developing countries which provide the only market for the products of Romania's heavy industry. This market exists only as long as Romanian products can be obtained on Credit (long and medium term). No wonder then that Romania has become a lender to such nations as Egypt, Brazil, Syria, Iran, Cuba, Algeria, Argentine, Portugal, to list only nations that owe Romania at least 100 million dollars. According to the best available figures, the credits extended by the SRR between 1961 and 1975 aggregate $1.6 billion.

In broad outline the Romanian economy functions as follows: the only products for which hard currencies can be earned are oil, grains and other foodstuffs. These are exported with very scant regard for internal consumption (as shown by the ubiquitous queues for even such staples as potatoes and bread). The foreign exchange thus earned is used to purchase machinery for the Romanian heavy and engineering industries whose products can only be sold on credit and at discount prices to developing and under-developed countries.

2. A Declaration issued in April 1964 by the Central Committee of The Romanian Workers' Party (since renamed Romanian Communist Party) was and still is hailed in the West as a courageous proclamation of independence.

The document is largely a rehash of a Soviet document: the November 1960 Declaration adopted by the Conference of Ruling communist parties. The only addition is a greater emphasis on the Soviet-endorsed Bandung principles (independence, national sovereignty, equal rights, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs) and a call for postponement of supra-national economic planning until all Warsaw Treaty states will have attained the same level of industrial development.

In retrospect the Declaration appears as an opening shot in a consistent effort to build up the reputation of the SRR into a living evidence of the contention that communism and national independence are perfectly compatible. The fact that this declaration coincided with the Soviet shift from Khrushchev's intimidation and confrontation, to Brezhnev's subdued détente—the latter involving a steady effort to sow complacency in the U.S. and Western Europe—suggest that the monistic view prevalent in the West is, to say the least, questionable.

3. The rulers of the SRR are praised for their neutral and independent position in the Sino-Soviet rift.

What are the facts? In early 1964 the SRR undertook, with the obvious blessing of Moscow and the assent of Peking, the task of a mediator in the Sino-Soviet quarrel. The Romanian recommendations were promptly endorsed by the Soviets.

After some delay, they were rejected by Peking. Both on their way to China and on their return journey the Romanian delegation called upon and reported to the Soviet rulers. The presence in all the Romanian delegations visiting Peking of Emil Bodnaraş, the Romanian Politburo member, is another indication that Moscow wanted to maintain the Romanian Communist Party in the role of a channel of communication with Peking. According to Khrushchev (in his "Khrushchev Remembers", pp. 514-515), Bodnaras "was a good friend of the Soviet Union, an old Bolshevik . . . who enjoyed our absolute confidence and respect".

In the face of such facts, the most sensible explanation of the reputation of neutrality toward the Sino-Soviet conflict the SRR gained is to be found in Peking's eagerness to play up the Romanian connection to cover up, domestically, China's isolation. The fact is that when Chou-En-lai, on a visit to Romania, in 1966, tried to deliver a severe attack against the Soviet leaders he was made to desist. The true nature of the Sino-Romanian relationship was revealed a few days later. During the visit of Chou-En-lai to Albania, the press of that country forcefully castigated "false neutrals"—a transparent allusion to Nicolae Ceausescu.

"The peculiar relationship maintained by Bucharest with Peking is a connection potentially useful to Moscow, and a function of Soviet-Chinese relations rather than a component of an independent Romanian-made policy. The persistent efforts of the Romanian Communist Party to bring about a settlement, or at least a truce, between Moscow and Peking, tend to cast doubt on the interpretation according to which a Romanian policy of independence was made possible by and has taken advantage of the Sino-Soviet conflict. Should the Romanian C.P. leadership be anxious—as it is assumed to be—to promote a policy of independence by exploiting the schism, it should then be equally anxious that the gulf between Moscow and Peking be maintained (albeit in a manageable state) not bridged. It would seek to play up and manipulate their differences, and not endeavor, as Bucharest has been doing, to compose and reconcile them."[2]

4. In the area of relations with non-communist states several deviations are usually brought forward:

(a) Romania has been casting non-conformist votes in the United Nations.

Closer examination shows, however, that these were invariably on minor matters. They look as if intentionally chose to foster the image of an independent communist Romania.

(b) Apart the Soviet Union, Romania was the first Warsaw Treaty state to establish in 1967, in defiance of the bloc, diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. This action may be construed with almost equally persuasive arguments as a genuine deviation, or as a concerted maneuver to undermine the Halstein Doctrine by virtue of which West Germany would not establish or maintain diplomatic relations with states recognizing East Germany (German Democratic Republic). Economic necessity must have been here the deciding factor. Germany rapidly became Romania's and later East Europe's major creditor.

(c) In 1967 Romania was the only communist-ruled country to maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. This was eagerly greeted as another proof that Romanian independence is a reality. Wouldn't it be more realistic to ascribe this decision to the need of the communist bloc to preserve a channel of communication and an observation post of great importance?

For once Yugoslavia could not render this service to Moscow. Its close relations with Nasser and the Third World precluded it. Therefore, Romania, with its established reputation of a quasi-non-aligned state, was the natural choice for the role of the man left behind to carry on a significant mission.

(d) Romania was the only socialist state to join G.A.T.T., I.M.F. and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. By 1976 the SRR had already drawn loans amounting to 445 million dollars from these U.N. agencies. The profitability of membership is likely to attract other applicants from East Central Europe. In any event, the SRR has demonstrated its usefulness as pathfinder for the communist bloc.

(e) The 1969 visit of President Nixon and the 1975 visit of President Ford to Romania are among the indicators of SRR behavior most often referred to. The visits are generally depicted as gestures of quasi-defiance on the part of

[2] Romania's Foreign Policy Reconsidered, by Vladimir Socor, ORBIS, Fall 1976 Issue.

"President" Ceausescu. If this were so, the invitation to the American Presidents would have been gestures of deliberate provocation or an indication of total misreading, on the part of the SRR dictator, of American willingness to defend them if attacked by Soviet Russia. After Czechoslovakia's experience in 1968 it is difficult to believe any of these explanations. The much more plausible explanation would be that the visit had the prior blessing of Moscow. The Soviet leaders may have found it, indeed, useful to their campaign of détente; they may have felt that such visits would vividly drive home to Romanians and Poles that the American Presidents weren't visiting them but their oppressors; they may have reasoned that a reinforced image of Romanian independence may enhance the credibility of the nationalist and liberal image the East European communist parties were about to forge for themselves.

5. The alleged obstruction by the SRR of the Soviet-proposed World Conference of Communist parties was viewed from 1964 to 1969. In the West, as a dependable evidence of the reality of Romanian assertiveness.

For years the Western press was fed with information about such obstruction. When the conference finally met, in 1969, Ceausescu signed the Soviet-prepared Declaration on the dotted line. Before doing so, he entered a rather revealing reservation. He objected, he said, to certain paragraphs of the Declaration, namely those dealing with the problem of divergencies among Socialist countries and/or parties. He felt that these paragraphs conveyed the impression that such divergencies were the result of imperialist activity. This, he pointed out, overrated the capability of imperialism to divide the "international working class movement" and underrated the unity of the world communist movement.

This line of argument lends a new emphasis to one of the favorite justifications the Romanian C.P. has been offering for its independence stance: western public opinion and western governments are so addicted to wishful thinking and so vulnerable to deception that the surest way to sow complacency and disunity among them is to plug the idea that the communist-ruled East European countries have ceased to be satellites of the Soviet Union.

It was in this spirit that the often quoted 1964 Declaration of the Central Committee of the Romanian C.P. pointed out that the new relationship among communist parties "exerts a strong appeal in the world arena, is watched with the utmost attention by all peoples and represents a mobilizing factor in the struggle waged by the working people in the capitalist countries and in the newly independent states."

In other words, the 1964 statement clearly intimated that the "satellite" image had been a handicap to the expansion of communism, whereas a new perception of truly independent but voluntarily cooperating and sometimes diverging parties and states will have a double effect: it will render communism more attractive and the Western powers less keen on preserving their alliance and on maintaining an adequate defense posture.

6. Romania is purported to have taken the initiative, independently of Moscow, for the suppression of blocs and foreign military bases and for the withdrawal of armed forces stationed in foreign lands. It is furthermore credited with having successfully resisted Soviet plans for tightening up the structure of the warsaw Treaty Organization (W.T.O.).

Regarding the Warsaw Treaty, it is undeniable that since 1967 there has been a methodical effort (via leaks to the western press), on the part of agents of the Bucharest regime, to represent Romanian statements for the suppression of military blocs and foreign bases, as well as for the withdrawal of troops stationed in foreign countries, as Romanian positions taken in defiance of Moscow.

The fact is that as early as February 1954, at the Berlin Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, the Soviet Union had proposed every one of the measures for which the SRR was claiming credit in 1967. The same proposals were repeatedly reiterated in subsequent years. What else than deception can explain the false Romanian claims?

Regarding the alleged obstruction by Ceausescu of Soviet plans for strengthening the WTO, suffices to note that the present structure of its political organs reflects the reluctance of Moscow to accept majority rule in any international body. The Soviet Union would have even less to gain from changes in the military command which is fully controlled by Moscow on every level and in every compartment.

Developments in the area of Soviet-Romanian interstate relations underline the contrast between the latitude exercised by Bucharest on the propaganda and espionage fronts (where Romanian networks operated very successfully in Western Europe for the benefit of Soviet Russia) and the limitations it has to contend with on the political and economic action level.

Romanian historians are occasionally permitted, as they were during the past year, to allude to Romanian provinces annexed by Soviet Russia (Bessarabia, Norther Bukovina and the Hertza territory). Yet the regime subscribes, without the slightest reservation, to formal documents declaring all borders of the signers (including the Sino-Soviet border) as final, inviolable nay sacred. The Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference is a case in point.

The Romanian regime often refers to the principle of equal advantage, but dares not, or cannot, halt or curb the continuing economic exploitation of Romania by the Soviet Union by means of underpriced Romanian exports and overcharged imports from the Soviet Union.

7. It is contended in the West that the SRS has once more demonstrated its emancipation from Soviet control by the independent line it took at the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The three main points made by Ceausescu in these meetings were:

(a) individual states and not blocs must be the components of the proposed European Security System;

(b) the CESC should be institutionalized (i.e., become a permanent organization);

(c) the Helsinki Conference should be viewed merely as an initial step in a long term process of comprehensive change in the power relationships and political structure of Europe. (This should be read in the context of the SRR position on the Mutual Force Reduction talks in Vienna: "Force reductions on the Central Front should be considered as interim measures toward the removal of all foreign bases and troops from Europe's states and toward the dismantling of military alliances."

Anyone half-familiar with the Soviet policy for the mutual suppression of military blocs (NATO and WTO), a policy the Soviets pursued with utmost patience ever since they made WTO, in 1955, their response and exchange-chip for NATO, will easily recognize the purpose of the SRR proposals. They were attempts to achieve in a roundabout way the long-standing Soviet of swapping WTO for NATO in the sure knowledge that the demise of WTO will not mean the end of the Soviet bloc, while the suppression of NATO will entail the end of the western alliance and the withdrawal of American military power to the American continent.

It should be noted that the SRR's contribution to the acceptance by the NATO powers of the European Security Conference project, the Soviets revived in 1966 and pushed hard ever since, was not confined to the preparatory phase of the Helsinki Summit meeting. Since 1966 Romanian diplomacy was diligently and steadfastly courting the NATO countries and the European neutrals to sell them the view that the proposed European Security System was the only means available to ease the lot of the East-Central European nations. Within the system and the partnership it would create, it would be easier to develop a European counter-weight to Soviet power.

III. CONCLUSIONS

1. The posture of nationalism and independence the Romanian regime has assumed since 1964 is preponderantly a substitute for internal reforms, political and economic, which is a qualitatively weak Communist Party, like the Romanian; was reluctant to enact. The carefully orchestrated and amply publicized "assertions of independence" coincided with a significant shift in the European political strategy of Soviet Russia, the shift from intimidation to détente. The quadruple purpose of the policy of détente was (1) to detract attention from the huge military build-up in the Soviet Union; (2) to foster a false sense of security and complacency in the West; (3) to secure the formal acquiescence of the West for the Soviet-imposed status quo in East-Central Europe, and (4) to gain easy and massive access to western long-range credits and advanced technology. The means employed to further these purposes included promoting the view that Moscow had its hands full with the "Chinese menace" and feeding western wishful thinking with facts" indicating "irreversible" trends toward "de-satelliza-

tion" (in Romania) and "de-stalinization" (in the other Soviet-dominated states) As a result, a new perception of Communism as an increasingly loose movement, no longer capable of cohesive action, no longer dangerous—was born in the West. And this perception has already contributed to the weakening of western unity and willingness to maintain a level of military preparedness commensurate to the evergrowing might confronting them.

2. Toward the Soviet leaders both Gheorghiu-Dej and Nicolae Ceausescu justified this posture (a) as the surest and least risky road to a measure of popular acceptance, and (b) as a useful contribution to the success of the Soviet grand strategy in Europe. The fact is that both these objectives, equally desirable from the viewpoint of the world communist movement were substantially advanced in the West (much less if at all in Romania) by the new projection of the Romanian Communist leadership.

3. Romanians disagree with the view that economic relations and cooperation are conducive to political gains. For them long and medium term credits and other forms of economic help enable the communist regimes to maintain, for political reasons, inhuman and economically unworkable systems, such as collectivized agriculture. Without such help the communist regimes might be forced, by the pressure of necessity, to give priority to economic considerations, such as dissolving or radically reforming collective farming. Developments along the above lines would be apt to strengthen the economic independence and hence the political potential of the staunchly anti-communist peasantry.

4. The highly favorable publicity the Romanian regime gained throughout the Western world and the entirely new experience of a modicum of popular acceptance appear to have produced a dizzying effect in Bucharest. Assertive gestures and statement reached, indeed, provocative levels in the summer of 1968, in connection with the Czechoslovak crisis and subsequent Soviet military intervention. This time, Soviet reaction obviously went beyond mere irritation. The fact is that within a few days from the occupation of Czechoslovakia all criticism disappeared from Romanian statements and from the Romanian press. Moscow had clamped down.

5. Recent developments would indicate that the Soviet leaders might have come to the conclusion that the SRR's posture of independence has become a nuisance or has lived out its usefulness. This seems to be the meaining of a Brezhnev-Ceausescu joint statement, following Soviet-Romanian talks in the Crimea. The statement describes as "basic principle" of relations between communist countries the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism (i.e. the idea that Moscow has the right to intervene, by force if necessary, in any communist country whenever a pro-Moscow government appears imperilled). In the light of a commentary by the authoritative Soviet foreign affairs weekly Novoye Vremya [a]), the conclusion seems warranted that the much vaunted independence of the SSR, whether a mere myth, as most Romanians believe, or reality, as the Western observers are inclined to believe, has come to a terminal point. The argument that granting economic privileges serves the interest of both the United States and the SRR has become more doubtful than ever before.

IV. ADDITIONAL FACTS ON THE SRR EMIGRATION POLICY AND THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST-RULED ROMANIA

The obstructionist emigration policy conducted by the SRR and its continued denial of human rights have amply been treated in statements submitted to the Subcommittee by several spokesmen for aid-to-refugees organizations. These accurately described the numerous and increasingly imaginative obstacles Romanians wishing to emigrate must hurdle, and the endless chicaneries employed to wear them down and bring them to give up. In endorsing their findings and conclusions, I would like to submit, as annexes to my own statement, a few documents that would shed further light on the efforts of the Romanian authorities to maintain control over Romanian subjects even after they have given up their Romanian nationality, as well as on the climate of "quiet desperation" reigning in the land so glibly depicted in the west as domestically progressive and internationally skillful in its assertion of national independence.

[a] "Analyzing the events that have taken place recently, we can say with certainty that all objective preconditions exist for the further consolidation of general Soviet-Romanian cooperation". (New York Times, September 9, 1976, Malcolm Brown under Belgrade byline).

The first document (annex 1) is a copy of the questionnaire (Romanian text with official Romanian translation in small print) U.S. resident Romanians wishing to renounce their nationality must fill out and file with the SRR consulate in Washington, D.C. It will be noted that such petitioners must list all their relatives in Romania, with complete data on their employment history and residence. The petitioners are also obliged to list their income (salary, social security benefits, rents, etc.), as well as their properties and other assets (questions 25 and 26).

The second document is the English translation and Romanian original of the form U.S. resident Romanians must fill out and file with the Romanian Consulate in Washington, D.C. when trying to shed their Romanian citizenship. This form shows that the petitioner must attach to his application (addressed to the President of the SRR) a sworn statement by which he or she would undertake "not to engage, after losing his or her Romanian citizenship, in any action likely to cause harm to the interests of the Romanian state or people." This provision clarifies the reason prompting Romanian authorities to exact information on the petitioner's relatives in Romania. The purpose is clearly to facilitate retaliation should their emigrant relative fail to abide by the obligation not to engage in political activities displeasing to the Romanian communist regime.

The third document is an affidavit established by Columbia University doctoral candidate Vladimir Socor. He declares, on the basis of direct knowledge of the matter, that not even the daughter of the recently recalled Ambassador to the SRR in Washington was permitted to leave Romania and join her American fiance.

The fourth enclosure is a report under a Vienna byline by a distinguished American correspondent, Eric Bourne (Christian Science Monitor, May 11, 1976) showing that the obstructionism practiced by the SRR authorities with regard to emigration for family reunion is not confined to relatives of U.S. citizens or residents but is a general policy of the SRR.

The other two enclosures are recent eyewitness stories by American correspondents. One of these (annex 5), by an experienced East European correspondent of the New York Times, describes the nightmarish tribulations of the most talented younger Romanian novelist because of his refusal to tow the party-line. The other (annex 6), an article by a Romanian-born American intellectual visiting after 14 years the country of her birth. She sadly concludes (and her conclusions perfectly match our own information and judgment):

(1) "The truly haunting image from Rumania is of the mind and soul. It is a picture of quiet desperation. Harassment, fatigue, fear, hunger and boredom are gradually taking their toll."

(2) "The sense that hope is fading is inescapable—certainly there is little hope for salvation from America. Rumanians have come to accept the reality of détente, which they see to be increasingly working to the advantage of their oppressor, Russia. Not that they do not continue to love America. They love it in spite of (often because of) the official propaganda against it: while envying us our wealth and despising us for our naivete, while realizing that we are, indeed, becoming weaker, Rumanians continue to love America."

(3) "They (Rumanians) understand that the West isn't learning anything from the East, indeed, is increasingly unwilling to learn."

V. ON SOME HUNGARIAN TESTIMONIES

In the past few weeks the American Congress, press and public opinion were the targets of a seemingly well-financed effort to revive a so-called Transylvanian issue. The visible source of these efforts is an ad hoc group calling itself The Committee for Human Rights in Romania which claims to have the backing of the major Hungarian associations in America; its spokesmen have repeatedly appeared as witnesses before the Senate and House subcommittees on trade—when MFN to Romania was on the agenda.

Overlooking the fundamental fact that social and political stratification in the communist-ruled countries, with all the attendant privileges and persecutions, have nothing to do with ethnic and religious affiliations, being based exclusively on the *ins* (the members of the Communist Party) and *they* (the non-members) dichotomy, the ad-hoc committee conducts in reality political propaganda and agitation that can only do great harm to the common interests

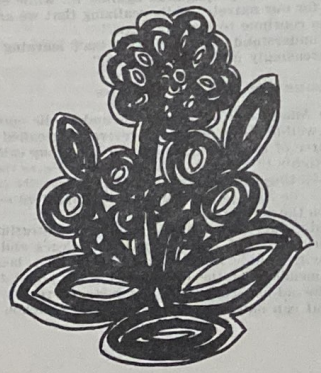
and aspirations of two neighboring nations whose future will depend largely on their ability to join forces.

To the best knowledge and belief of the Truth About Romania Committee, the fate of the ethnic and religious minorities in Romania—including the Hungarian minority in Transylvania—is in no way different from that of the Romanian majority. Both live under the lawless oppression of the same Stalinist despotism. Both are denied even the most elementary rights of Man. Both suffer the same deprivations and miseries. And both have nothing to gain and a lot to lose from quarreling with each other instead of jointly fighting the common enemy.

Since the "Committee for Human Rights in Romania" has testified before the subcommittees on trade of both Senate and House, we feel enjoined to declare our conviction that the case against granting the MFN treatment to communist-ruled Romania is a strong one. It is not likely to be further strengthened but on the contrary weakened by bringing up artificial issues that play into the hand of the enemies of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples.**

*** Brutus Coste, representing The Truth About Romania Committee, presented the foregoing statement before the Subcommittee On Trade of the Committee On Ways and Means -House of Representative, on Sept.14, 1976.*

The Truth About Romania Committee is a non-profit and non-incorporated association of leading Americans and U.S. residents of Romanian descent. It was formed in 1973 and is dedicated to the task of disseminating the truth about conditions in Romania and voicing, in the free world, the freedom aspirations of the Romanian people. The Committee is in the process of expanding from a group of fifteen founders into an organization with a large membership. The temporary headquarters of the Committee are located at 325 East 57 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.



ROMANIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA*

ALBINA. Romanian political newspaper founded in Vienna in 1866 by the family Mocsony. The first editor was Vincentiu Babes.

ALBINA. Popular encyclopedic magazine, founded in Bucharest, by Spiru Haret in 1897.

ASSOCIATIUNEA TRANSILVAN PENTRU LITERATURA ROMANA SI CULTURA POPORULUI ROMAN. Bettern known under the name of ASTRA. Founded on October 23, 1861, it was the oldest and most important cultural institution in Transylvania. Its first president was Archbishop Andreiu Saguna. The purpose of ASTRA was to spread culture among the Romanians in Transylvania which was under Austro-Hungarian rule. A journal with the title Transilvania became the official publication of the association in 1861.

A library was built in Sibiu which housed the headquarters of ASTRA. ASTRA prepared and published scientific and educational books; helped students with scholarships, encouraged and stimulated writers by granting literary awards, founded a school for girls in Sibiu, published the first "Romanian Encyclopedia" edited by C. Diaconovici in three volumes, 1898-1904, organized lectures and literary salons in various cities and villages. After 1918, ASTRA founded regional branches in Basarabia and other provinces of Romania. In 1928, this cultural organization could boast 151 branches and 651 cultural affiliates, with an available program of 1290 popular lectures, 697 lectures for intellectuals and 357 artistic and literary performances. In its series "Biblioteca poporala" were published almost two million booklets.

BARITIU, GHEORGHE, 1812-1893. Historian, writer, professor, and statesman. He founded in Transylvania the first Romanian newspaper: Gazeta de Transilvania (1835), and the first journal: Foaia pentru Minte, Inima si Literatura (1838). In Gazeta de Transilvania, he took a stand in defending Romanian political rights and prepared public opinion for the meeting of Campia Libertatii, near Blaj, on Mai 15, 1848.

In this review, he published articles and literary works signed by M. Kogalniceanu, Grigore Alexandrescu, Vasile Alecsandri, Ion Ghica, and others, which has been forwarded from Muntenia , and Wallachia where Russian censorship had been instituted and had prohibited the publication of their works because they were at variance with Russian politics, in those Romanian principalities.

He aided in the reorganization of the Romanian school system in Brasov between 1836-1845, being a professor at the same time. During the Romanian revolution of 1848 in Transylvania, Baritiu was one of its leaders. When Hungarian troops occupied his city, Sibiu, he was compelled to flee into Muntenia where he was arrested by the Russians. But he succeeded in escaping and went to Bucovina. After the revolution and after Austria took control again over Transylvania, Baritiu came back to Brasov, continuing his journalistic activities and writing historical works.

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*Prepared and edited by John Halmaghi and Alice Hart.

He also urged the Romanian people to engage in trade and business. Due to his initiative, a paper manufacturing plant was founded in Zarnesti, which he managed for twenty years.

Baritiu was the closest collaborator of Archbishop Andreiu Saguna in founding Associatiunea Transilvana (ASTRA), for which he prepared the Imperial Parliament. When the Romanian Academy was founded in 1886, he became a member, representing Transylvania, and later on, became president of the Academy. After the settlement of the dual Astro-Hungarian Empire, he took up his residence in Sibiu where he edited the newspaper Observatorul and the official journal of ASTRA: Transilvania (1861-1888). In the controversial debates over the Romanian literary language, he took a moderate stand, providing tact and understanding.

Along with numerous articles and studies in history, politics, literature and economics, he wrote a history of Transylvania: "Parti alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe doua sute de ani in urma" in three volumes, 1889-1891.

BARNUTIU, SIMEON, 1808-1864. Professor, public speaker and political fighter, originally from Transylvania. He studied law in Sibiu, Vienna, and Pavia (Italy). In 1855 he started to teach philosophy in Iasi, and soon after that he became professor of civil law and philosophy at the University of that city. He promoted the idea of the Latinity of the Romanian people and of their nationality, and he built up a school of thought known as "Barnutiu's School."

In March, 1848, Barnutiu released an anonymous proclamation in which he showed the danger of accepting the incorporation of Transylvania into the state of Hungary, which the Hungarian revolutionaries of 1848 were advocating.

When the Romanians of Transylvania met at "Campia Libertatii" in May 1848, he delivered a famous speech in which he asked for the recognition of the Romanian people in that province as a national equal in rank and rights with the Hungarians, Saxons and Szekeleys, by stressing the fact that the Romanians represented the majority of the population. His speech was a splendid combination of historical arguments and judicial and sociological criticism in analyzing the political status of the Romanian people.

His writings were influenced by so-called Latinism: a tendency to change Romanian words and spellings in accordance with their Latin derivations. For this he was severely criticized by Titu Maiorescu.

Barnutiu was the first professor to teach philosophy in the Romanian language in Blaj, 1839.

CIPARIU, TIMOTEIU, 1805-1887. Romanian philologist, priest and professor in Blaj, and Canon at the Romanian Catholic Cathedral of the Byzantine Rite in that city. He took part in the Romanian revolutionary movement in 1848 as a member of the National Committee and was a national delegate to the Emperor of Austria. He was editor of the newspaper Organul Luminarii.

After the revolution Cipariu dedicated himself to literary activity. He was among the founders of ASTRA and a member of the Romanian Academy from its establishment in 1866. He wrote a grammar of the Romanian language: Gramatica limbii Romane, 2 vols., 1869-1877, for which he received the Romanian Academy Award. He was founder of the Latinist movement in Romania, being a partisan of the etymological rather than phonetical principle of language.

In 1858 he printed "Crestomatie san analecte literare," his main work, in which he published old Romanian texts unknown until then. In "Principia de limba si scriptura," Blaj, 1866, he presented his own linguistical theories concerning orthography. Although these theories based on etymological principles are outmoded today, his merit lies in his contribution to Romanian philology and for this reason he has been called "Father of Romanian philology".

He also published "Acte si fragmente Latino-Romanesti pentru istoria bisericii Romane" and edited the first Romanian journal of philology, "Archivul pentru filologie si istorie," 1867-1872.

CONVORBIRI LITERARE. Literary journal founded by the circle "Yunimea" in Iasi, 1867, with Iacob Negruzzi (1867-1894) as its first editor. Between 1895-1901, this journal was published by an editorial board. In 1901-1906, the editor was Ioan Bogdan; 1907-1923, Simion Mehedinti, and since 1924, Tzigara-Samurcas. In 1885, the journal moved to Bucharest. In 1944 it ceased publication.

The most creative and glorious period in the existence of this journal coincides with the cultural criticism of Titu Maiorescu who sought to impart a "new direction" to Romanian literature both in prose and poetry.

In the pages of this journal were printed the best poems written by Mihail Eminescu, the "Recollections" of Ioan Creanga, and the "Teatre" of Ioan L. Caragiale.

FAMILIA, 1865-1906. The oldest Romanian journal for belles-lettres, founded by Iosif Vulcan in Budapest. In 1880, the journal was moved to Oradea (Transylvania). The contributors were not only from Transylvania, but also from the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Muntenia. The first poems of Mihail Eminescu appeared here. In 1926, the journal was published in a new series and was edited by Mihai Samarineanu until 1944.

FEDERATIUNEA, 1868-1876. Political, literary and economic newspaper, founded by Alexandru Roman, in Budapest. For his nationalistic stand, the editor was sentenced to one year's imprisonment by Hungarian authorities.

GAZETA DE TRANSILVANIA. The oldest political newspaper in Transylvania, founded by G. Baritiu in 1837, and edited by him until 1850. Later editors were Iacob Muresianu (1850-1877), Aurel Muresianu (1878-1890), Grigore Maior (1890-1900), Traian Pop (1900-1906), Victor Branisce, etc. The title was slightly changed during the years: after 1838 the newspaper appeared under the title:Gazeta Transilvana, and from 1849 till 1944 as Gazeta Transilvaniei. Publication was suspended between 1916 - 1918. From January 1838 until 1865 the newspaper published a literary supplement: Foaia pentru Minte, Inima si Literatura.

During the 1848 revolution, publication was suspended because of articles in which the editor asked for equal rights for all nationalities in Transylvania and for the unity of all Romanians.

With the editorship of Iacob Muresianu, from 1850 on, cyrillic characters were replaced by the Roman alphabet.

Until 1848, this periodical was published weekly; thereafter, two o three times a week, and in 1844, it became a daily publication.

This periodical played an important cultural and political role in the struggle of Romanians in Transylvania for their civil and political rights.

JUNIMEA. Romanian literary society, founded in Iasi in 1863 by Titu Maiorescu, Vasile Pogor, Petre Capr, Iacob Negruzzi, and others. The society began its publication in March, 1867, of the journal "Convorbiri Literare" (q.v.). In the regular meetings of this literary circule, the members discussed the most important Romanian publications in terms of their value, style, and orthography. In time, Junimea built up a "community of ideas", a kind of "cultural doctrine", criticizing exaggerations in expression, lack of literary taste and talent, inadequacy of content for the forums of the developing modern civilization in Romania, and the question of Latinism. The members of this society introduced the true spirit of criticism into Romanian culture with a new approach to literary and cultural creations. In 1874, Junimea's headquarters were moved to Bucharest.

MAIOR, PETRU, 1754-1821. Historian and philologist. After studies in Targul-Mures, Blaj, he went, together with Sincai, to Rome to De Propagana Fide College. Returning to Blaj, he taught philosophy and theology. He became a monk, priest, and archpriest. Later on, he moved to Budapest to work for the printing shop of the univeristy. One wirter of this school which promoted the idea of the Romance character of the Romanian language.

His works include "Istoria pentru Inceputul Romanilor in Dachia", Budapest, 1812, with two supplements: Disertatie pentru Inceputul Limbii Romanesti, and Disertatie pentru Literatura Cea Veche A Romanilor. In this work he asserts the purity of the Latin character of the Romanian language, and the continuity of Roman culture and life in Dacia, against Eder, Sulzer, and Engel. He considered as minimal the Slavonic influence upon the Romanian. "Istoria Bisericii Romanilor Atat A Cestor Dincoace Cat si A Celor De Dincolo De Dunare," Budapest, 1813. This is a monumental work, based on solid documentation and oral testimonies. It refers also to the union with Rome of some of the Romanians in Transylvania. Maior affirms and proves the Roman origin of Romanian Christianity. "Ortographia Romana, sive Latino-Valachica", Budapest, 1819. Here he appears as a partisan of the etymological school. In "Dialogu pentru Inceputul Limbii Romane Intre Nepot si Unchiu," 1819, he maintains that the Romanian language derives from spoken, not literary, Latin. To support his thesis, Maior studied inscriptions and compared Romanian with Latin texts, becoming in this way a forerunner of Romanian philology. He did not admit to any Dacian influence on the Romanian language and stated that the Romanian language is the purest of the Romance languages. "Lexicon Romanes-Latinesc-Unguresc-Nemtesc (Dictionarul de Buba), 1825, was initiated by Samuil Micu, continued by Maior, and after his death,

by I. Teodorovici and A. Teodori. Maior wrote also a "Gramatica a Limbii Romane," from which manuscript Cipariu publsihed fragments in the periodical "Arhiva." In "Procanon", Maior combats the exaggerations of the Catholic Church. Other works include: "Propove-Danii la Ingropaciunea Oamenilor Morti," Budapest, 1809; "Prediche Sau Invataturi la Toate Dumineile si Sarbatorile Anului," Budapest, 1911; "Didahii, Adeca Invataturi pentru Cresterea Fiilor, la Ingropaciunea Fiilor Morti," Budapest, 1809. He also translated the works of Fenelon.

MAIORESCU, TITU-LIVIU, 1840-1917. Romanian writer, literary and cultural critic and statesman. After studies in Vienna, Berlin, and Paris, Maiorescu taught philosophy at the University of Iasi in 1862. He was one of the founders of the society "Junimea", along with V. Pogor, Th. Rosetti, P. Carp, I. Negruzzi, and others in 1865. In 1871, he was elected Congressman and left his teaching position. Thereafter he dealt only with politics and became a lawyer. The entire Romanian political aspects of the time were reflected in his parliamentary speeches. In 1874, he was Minister of Education and presented a project for reforming the educational system. Later on, he was a minister in different governments, and in 1912-13, he was Premier of the Romanian government.

When he moved from Iasi to Bucharest, he taught logic and the history of modern philosophy at the University. In 1866 when the Romanian Academy was founded, he was among the founding members as a representative of Moldavia.

His articles in Convorbiri Literare (published later in 3 volumes) show his principles of aesthetics and analyses of various literary works, framing a "new direction" in Romanian literature. He required that a work should be the expression of an inner meaning and should be presented in a form which is in harmony with the essence of the content. He combated Latinist orthography and recommended folklore and old literary works as a source of inspiration. Maiorescu is a defender of the principle "art for art's sake". Beauty within the limits of truth and truth within the limits of beauty must be the purpose of any artist and writer. Thus he rejected literature with social overtones as, for instance, was exemplified by Gherea. He believed that literature can present, in conformity with the principles of true art, a nation's character, thus obtaining a distinct value within world literature.

Maiorescu was the first to appreciate Eminescu's poetry and published the first edition of his poems. He translated many works from German. At the Romanian Academy, he fought against the exaggerations of the Latinist School and defended Romanian folklore for its peerless content and form of expression.

His works include: "Einiges Philosophische in Gemeinfasslicher Form, Berlin 1861; Despre Scrierea Limbii Romane, Iasi 1866; Poezia Romana, Iasi, 1867; Contra Scoalei Barnutiu, Iasi 1868; Betia de Cuvinte, Iasi, 1872; Logica, Bucharest, 1876; Discursuri Parlamentare, 1897-1915, 5 vol.; Insemnari Zilnice, Bucharest, 1937-1943, 3 vol.

MICU, SAMUIL, 1745-1806. Philologist and historian and one of the founders of the Latinist School in Transylvania. His name was Maniu, but when he became a monk, this was changed to Micu. Initially, he studied in Blaj and thereafter in Vienna. He taught philosophy, theology, and ethics at

the theological seminary in Blaj, and later was studies director at St. Barbara Institute in Vienna.

Micu translated the Bible into Romanian, 1795, and published a book in the field of philosophy, theology: Logica, 1799. Carte de Rogacioni, 1799, was written and printed with Latin characters instead of Cyrillic. This was the first time in Romanian history that the Roman alphabet appeared in printed material.

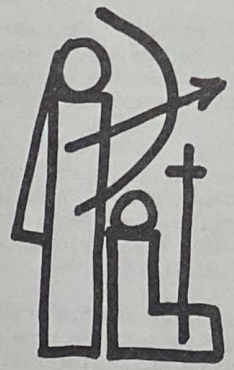
Micu's contributions in history are: Istoria, Lucrurile si Intamplar ile Romanilor, 4 vols., in manuscript, from which only fragments were published, and De Origine Daco-Romanorum, a lost manuscript.

In Elementa Linguae Dacoromane sive Valachicae, 1780, with the collaboration of Gh. Sincai, Micu proposed the introduction of the Roman alphabet, etymological orthography and the purging of the Romanian language of non-Latin elements. This is the major work of the Latinist school. Most of his works were left in manuscript form.

PUMNUL, ARON, 1818-1866. Professor and linguist. Born in Transylvania, Pumnul was compelled to take refuge in Bucovina, after the 1848 revolution. He taught the Romanian language at the Gymnazium in Cernauti where Eminescu was one of his students.

He promoted the theory of analogy in linguistics, according to which the formation of neologisms and new technical terms must conform to the pattern of older, more familiar words which exist in common usage.

His principal work was Leptuariu Romanesc, in 6 vols., 1862-1865, containing selected texts from various Romanian wirters with short biographical notes and commentaries. He also published Grammatik der Rumanischen Sprache fuer Mettelschulen, and contributed articles to the Romanian periodical Bucovina. At his death, Mihai Eminescu wrote one of his first poems and dedicated it to his former professor.



155. Bucur, Marin
Documente inedite din arhivele franceze privitoare la Români în secolul al XIX-lea. Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1969- DR242/B8.
A compilation of unedited documents and letters found in French archives concerning the relations of Romanian revolutionary emigres in Paris during and after 1848. The importance of these documents lies in their historiographical value as well as literary history. Each letter has a Romanian summary and comment.

156. Bucur, Marin
Ovid Densuşianu. Bucureşti, Editura Tineretului, 1967. 348 p.
A study of the life and work of a great Romanian philologist, literary historian and folklorist. Densuşianu wrote a monumental history of the Romanian language, published in French, dealing with its origin, evolution and structure. PC839/D45Z59.

157. Budai-Deleanu, Ion
Tiganiada. Ediţie şi glosar de J.Byck; ilustraţii de Aurel Stoicescu. Bucureşti, Editura pentru Literatură, 1967. 356 p. PC839/B8T5.

158. Buhociu, Octavian
La philosophie de l´histoire d´A.D.Xenopol; l´evolution, la guerre, la serie historique, la logique de la succession. Paris, 1957. 189 p. DR216.9/X4B8.
A doctoral thesis in which the major concepts of Xenopol´s philosophy of history are analyzed and examined. Here his work is treated as one coherent whole.

159. Les Bulgares de Bessarabie. Sofia,1928. 35 p. DK511/B4B8.
A small booklet with interesting historical data on Bulgarians in Romanian Bessarabia, with political implications of ethnic minorities.

160. Bunea, Augustin
Incercare de istoria Românilor până la 1382. Scriere postumă. Ediţiunea Academiei Române. Bucureşti, Librăriile Socec,1912. 226 p. DR238/B8.
An unfinished work on Romanian history in which the author gives an account of the Roman origin of the Romanian people and their historical development up to 1382. The main concern of the author is to document the religious history of the Romanians.

161. Călinescu, George
Gîlceava înţeleptului cu lumea. Pseudojurnal de moralist. Selecţia şi îngrijirea textelor de Geo Serban. Bucureşti, Minerva, 1973- Vol.1 Contents: 1927-1939. PC803/C3x.
Selected articles published in journals between 1927 and 1939 on various aspects of Romanian culture, literature and civilization. The editor Geo Serban believes that the articles included here

prove that after August 1944 George Călinescu did not need any "rupture" with his past in order to "adapt" to a socialist conception of life. However, it is very hard to find anything in the content of this book leading toward socialist realism or socialism itself.

162. Călinescu, George
Ion Creangă, viaţă şi operă. Ediţie nouă revăzută. Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatură, 1964. 404 p. PC839/C7Z52/1964.
A full-scale examination of Creangă's life and work based on both unedited documentation and verified information. Creangă is a representative Romanian writer, and his work his work is critically analyzed and evaluated.

163. Călinescu, George
Literatura nouă. Culegere de articole. Ediţie întocmită de Al. Piru. Craiova, Scrisul românesc,1972. 239 p. PC808/C295.
A collection of book reviews and a few articles dealing with Romanian literature developed aftre August 23, 1944, as the "new literature" springing from new literary orientation and principles, the so-called "socialist realism".

164. Călinescu, George
Opere. Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatură, 1964- Library has: v.5-6, Bietul Ioanide; v.7-8, Scrinul negru; v.9, Sun.Teatru; v.10, Nuvele, Poezii, Horaţiu (traduceri); v.11, Viaţa lui Eminescu; v.12-13, Opera lui Eminescu; v.14, Ion Creangă. PC839/C25A2.
The complete works of a contemporary author whose writings encompass all fields of literature: novels, short stories, drama, biography, journalism, aesthetics, history and literary criticism, as well as politics, sociology and more.

165. Călinescu, George
Principii de estetică. Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatură, 1968. (Colecţia Minerva). 407 p. PN45/C3.
Contents include a "Course on poetry" as presented in a series of lectures in 1939, and a study, "Literary history and the technique of criticism", along with an "Addenda" of various articles on poetry, criticism, literary movements and art. Călinescu is a very learned literary critic who presents in his aesthetics an original point of view when writing about the structure, objects and methods of his discipline. He thoroughly analyzes the modalities of artistic expression in poetry, taking into account all details and formulas proposed for understanding the universe of poetry.

166. Călinescu, George
Scriitori străini. Antologie şi text îngrijit de Vasile Nicolescu şi Adrian Marino. Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatura universală, 1967. 829 p. PC839/C25A16/1967.
A collection of literary criticism on European writers by one of the leading Romanian literary historians and critics. Călinescu's intention was to make known to Romanian readers the European literature and establish the background for futher comparative studies in order to assure a brader perspective in literary approaches for Romanian students. Represented in this anthology are many French, German, Italian, Russian, Scandinavian and Hispanic writers.

167. Călinescu, George
Texte social-politice. 1944-1965. Bucureşti, Editura Politică, 1971. 255 p. DR267/C3.
A selection of articles published after August 23, 1944 discussing the new political, social and cultural developments in Romania, after the Soviet Union invaded the country. Călinescu tries to adapt his own original thinking to the ideology of socialism.

168. Călinescu, George
Ulysse. Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatură, 1967. 519 p. PC839/C25U4.
A collection of literary essays previously published in various literary periodicals about a large number of Romanian writers. An authority on Romanian contemporary literature, Călinescu approaches the texts with a close examination of the linguistic and aesthetic texture of the different works and reveals the structure and the significance of the text analyzed.

169. Călinescu, George
Universul poeziei. Antologie cu o ştfaţă de Al. Piru. Bucureşti, Editura Minerva, 1971. 319 p. PN1119/R8C3.
An anthology of articles, studies and university lectures on poetry. Most of the material presented here was published under the title "Principii de estetică". This edition offers seven new articles not included previously.

170. Călinescu, George
Vasile Alecsandri. Bucureşti, Editura tineretului, 1965. 143 p. PC839/A5Z55.
A presentation of the life and literary work of one of the most important writers at the beginning of modern Romanian literature, Vasile Alecsandri. This book is a very personal account of the writer and a very perceptive and intelligent examination of his literary works (poetry, theater pieces, and prose) within the context of the second half of the 19th century in Romanian literature. It brings into historical and cultural perspective the development of Romanian modern literature.

171. Călinescu, Matei
Eseuri critice. Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatură, 1967. 245 p. PC839/C26A16/1967.
Critical essays on Romanian and foreign literatures, including three essays dealing with concepts of poetry, culture and literary realism. The author is one of the most distinguished literary critics of the new generation, avoiding as far as possible any Marxist dogma in his writings. He is original and well-documented.

172. Călinescu, Matei
Fragmentarium. Articole de critică literară. Cluj, "Dacia",1973. 228 p. PC808/C34.
Essays on Romanian contemporary literature, discussing such themes as language, mathematical poetry, literary criticism, interpretation, etc.

173. Călinescu, Matei
Titanul şi geniul în poezia lui Mihai Eminescu; semnificaţii şi

direcţii ale etosului eminescian. Bucureşti, Editura pentru literatură, 1964. 201 p. PC839/E52Z55.

A study of the meaning of the two concepts, Titan and Genius, in the poetry of Mihai Eminescu, the best-known Romanian poet. "Titan and genius are symbols of inadaptability". In his masterpiece, "Luceafărul", Eminescu enriches the myth of genius with new meanings. For Eminescu, the genius is a titan whose impulses are broken, crushed, or even annihilated by the counciuosness of universal determinism.

174. Callimachi, Scarlat
Demetrius Cantemir. Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1966. 62 p. DR241/C3.

A brief account of the life and works of Demetrius Cantemir, the most prominent Romanian writer of his times. This ruler of Moldavia (at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century) was also a scholar, encyclopedist, philosopher, historian, Orientalist, linguist, sociologist and humanist. As a member of the German Academy of Berlin he wrote "Descriptio Moldaviae" and is well known for his History of the Ottoman Empire. Callimachi is familiar with the subject but gives a slightly partisan interpretation of historical facts.

175. Campus, Eliza
Înţelegerea balcanică. Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1972. 394 p. D460/C32.

This book deals generally with Balkan Peninsula politics and especially with the Balkan Pact which was signed in 1934 by Romania, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia. The author makes use of many unpublished documents which are inaccessible and cannot be verified. Her presentation of the objectives and function of this Balkan Pact is in accordance with a marxist interpretation, and she takes the Soviet Union's side on all debatable questions. The book has an index for names and places.

176. Camariano-Cioran, Ariadna
Academiile domneşti din Bucureşti şi Iaşi. Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1971. 328 p. LF5145/B8C3.

A documented history of the beginning of academic education in Moldavia and Muntenia. Here is a complete presentation of the subjects taught, the professors, their methods of teaching, and the importance of the first school in which the teaching language was Greek. The author explains the influence of Greek and the role it played in the development of Romanian education and culture. This work includes a good bibliography and an index of names and places cited.

John Halmaghi
Alice Hart

BOOK REVIEWS

Karl-Heinz Boeckstiegel & O. Glossner, Internationale Schiedsgerichtsbarkeit im Ost-West-Handel. (International arbitration in the East-West trade.) Series: Voelkerrecht und Internationales Wirtschaftsrect, Band 8), Baden-Bade, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1975. 72 p.

This monograph contains two lectures delivered in May 1975 at the symposium organized by the German Society for East European Studies, Law Section, together with the Institutes for East European law from Munchen and Koln. The symposium was attended by specialists in the field, from both Eastern and Western countries.

In the first lecture, Prof. Bockstiegel discusses international arbitration in Eastern and Western Europe in the light of new developments, and he points out the essential problems involved in arbitration. He defines arbitration as a "principal instrument for the solution of legal disputes in East and West trade transactions." (p. 12). Next he deals with a series of questions regarding the institution of arbitration: the legal aspects, the parties involved- including state organizations, international agreements, the nomination of the arbitrator and convocation procedures, the use of existing law, and the execution of final decisions. Finally, he tries to foresee some points and perspectives for the future.

Dr. Glossner in his lecture, deals with the same theme, but he focuses on the foundations of this international institution and on the international treaties and agencies which deal with international arbitration. The litigations increase in proportion to the volume of trade transactions and economic cooperative agreements between East and West. Their resolution implies some difficulties in countries having an economic system based on a free-market. The legal disputes which arise are resolved in most instances in the court, and only a few of them are taken to arbitration. However, in countries with a state-planned economy, legal disputes over trade transactions are brought to the arbitration commission.

This book is useful and welcome because it helps the reader to understand the international implications of any trade operation. In the appendix section, the publication includes the rules of the arbitration commission instituted by the Chambers of Commerce of COMECOM, and the rules concerning taxes and the expenses required for arbitration. There is an alphabetical subject index which makes it easy for the reader to identify the questions and problems discussed in the book.

Alexander Suga

* * * *

Detlev Christian Dicke & Hans Werner Rengeling, Die Siecherung des Weltfriedens durch die Vereinten Nationen. Ein Ueberblik ueber die Befugnisse der wichtigsten Organe. (The Insurance of World Peace through the U.N. Organization). Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1975. 193 p.

This book was published by Nomosverlag in the series "Voelkerrecht und Aussenpolitik" (International Law and Foreign Affairs). The authors have succeeded in their intention to offer a work both for specialists in International law and for those who deal in their professions with the United Nations: for example, politicians and journalists.

Dicke and Rengeling do not confine themselves only to the theoretical aspects of their subject, but they have combined them with the practical. The work is systematically organized, debating in a clear and precise style the questions involved in their approach. This monograph contains two parts: one is theory, and the second is an appendix with documentary material.

In the first chapter, the authors analyze the concept of "peace" according to the spirit of the United Nations Charter (p. 15), and they reach the conclusion that for the concept "international peace," "paix internationale," "paz internacional" there is a German corresponding expression either in "Weltfrieden" or in "Internationale Frieden," which do not contradict each other nor do they lead to any contradictions, (P. 16-17). We mention this because in Germany debates regarding the definition of the concept have often been endless. For example: in Article I of the Briand-Kellogg Pact (27 August 1928) it was stipulated that the signatory parties "declarent solennellement au nom de leurs peuples respectifs qu'elles condamnent le recours a la guerre. . ." The word "condamnent" was differently interpreted by various German specialists, and it became a controversial concept.

Today as in the past there are concepts in international usage which bear various and contradictory meanings as numerous as there are parties involved in any debate, such as: autodetermination, aggression, aggressor. There is no general concensus on the meaning of these concepts.

On 3 July 1933 there was concluded in London a "Convention for the definition of aggression" attended by the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Iran, Poland, Romania and Turkey. In spite of the agreement and concensus of the participants, the Soviet Union acted defiantly in 1939-1940.

The authors explained also the meaning of the concept of "peace and justice." They mention the principle of peaceful coexistence so much publicized by the Soviet Union but do not examine it thoroughly. In the second chapter, there is a presentation of all agencies with the United Nations Organization which have the responsibility to assure and guarantee peace. The authors' opinion is that world peace depends in large measure on the will of the great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union (p. 30). They state further that the world peace of today is also the result of the "equilibrium of atomic weapons" as well as the authority of the United Nations Organization. The U.N.O. is the only place where these world powers meet, associate, and debate the major issues concerning countries all over the world. In the third chapter, the authors discuss the Security Council, with its competency, function, extension of power to intervene and enforce the resolutions. All these attributes are thoroughly analyzed and explained.

An evaluation and a description of the structure of the General Assembly and of the "Little General Assembly" is presented in chapters 4 and 5.

An extensive description of the role of the Secretary General is to be found in chapter 6. In the beginning, his function was to coordinate and represent, but later on his role was increased, especially in insuring and maintaining the peace. This extension of his power and capacity was effected without a change in the statues. The importance of the Secretary General's role was illustrated in the Indonesia and Holland conflict. His intervention was essential in putting an end to the conflict between the parties.

The documentary section of the book is completed with a list of states which hold temporary membership in the Security Council, and with some important documents as "Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, "Uniting for Peace Resolution" (GA Res. 377 (V) 1950-Doc. A (1775)) and the "Resolution of the Interim Committee" - GA Res. 295 (IV) 1949 - GA Doc. A (1251).

Moreover, the authors have succeeded not only in clarifying problems concerning international law, but in explaining in a clear and systematic form the competency and procedures of the United Nations agencies responsible for "defending and restoring the peace."

If the UN is able to continue to carry out its mission in the future, it will be because of the organization itself and also of the willingness of the member states to contribute to this goal.

The League of Nations of Geneva failed precisely because the states were not willing to act for the defense and maintenance of peace. No one can reproach the League for not making all out efforts in this direction. For example, in March 1932 the General Assembly of the League voted unanimously a resolution to condemn actions by force, and the states took on the obligation not to recognize any agreement signed under pressure or in contradiction with international law. "The victim must be taken from the hands of the aggressor" was the basic principle of the Stimson Doctrine which had the care of the Resolution of March 1932. What happened afterwards? In 1936, when Italy invaded Abyssinia, the states did not respect the Resolution of 1932, but they acted "in conformity with national interest," disregarding those stipulations in international law. In 1939, at the beginning of the second world war, the United States acted in conformity with the Stimson Doctrine, that is, they protested and made known to Germany and the Soviet Union that they did not recognize territorial annexations in Europe. But at the end of the war, the United States neglected the Stimson Doctrine and fought to abolish only those annexations of Germany, but those annexations made by the Soviet Union were declared legal, with the exception of the Baltic countries.

We agree with the authors that the United Nations Organization cannot be blamed if it doesn't succeed in defending and maintaining the peace. Certain states have transformed the U.N.O. into a propaganda platform and

they are not interested in defending the peace. If they continue this way, the fate of the U.N.O. will be the same as that of the League of Nations.

Alexander Suga

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Robert F. Byrnes, editor, Communal Families in the Balkans: the Zadruga. Essays by Philip E. Mosely and Essays in his Honor. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976. XXVII, 285 pp.

Philip Mosely, a distinguished historian of diplomatic relations, early in his career conducted fieldwork in the Balkans and made fundamental contributions to the study of the family. His studies are of particular value for their blend of the anthropological and historical approaches.

His academic career was interrupted by the Second World War, during which his skill in negotiating with the Soviets took him to the 1934 Moscow Conference, the European Advisory Commission, the Potsdam Conference, and the Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1954 and 1946. He returned to academic life at the end of the war, becoming Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, where he was also a founder of the Russian Institute. In 1955 he became Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations, but returned to teaching in 1963 as the first Adlai E. Stevenson Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, where he remained until his death in 1972.

It was largely the course of world events that prevented him from returning to an old interest--one that lay outside the area in which he had been trained. Margaret Mead, in her introduction, points out how rare yet how beneficial when a first-rate social scientist "well trained in one field of study is persuaded to work in an adjacent field in which he has had no previous specific training." In 1935 and 1936, he was offered -- for reasons that are not made very clear -- a fellowship by the SSRC to study living peasant peoples in Southwestern Europe. Accordingly, he went to London and read anthropology with Malinowski and population problems with Saunders. He learned anthropological field methods from Margaret Mead. In Romania, he set to work studying aspects of village life; he later travelled and studied extensively in other parts of the Balkans.

His contributions to anthropology were chiefly in the area of types of the family. A prominent feature of peasant social life in parts of the Balkans is the large extended family or Zadruga. Mosely defined it as a "household composed of two or more biological or small-families, closely related by blood or adoption, owning its means of production communally, producing and consuming the means of its livelihood jointly, and regulating the control of its property, labor, and livelihood communally" (19). Some writers had taken a biological-determinist view of its origins and distribution, attributing the zadruga to an "innate Slav tendency"; others had seen it as a functional response to pressures from the Byzantine and Ottoman empires.

Mosely, by contrast, viewing the search for origins as a false lead, took an almost ecological approach and concluded that there was a continuum from small to large families, with the latter being "suited to a pioneering situation -- to clearing, occupying, and cultivating new land -- and that conditions in which land is limited put a strain on such communal arrangements" (xxi). He saw that the existing "ethnographical literature on the zadruga has little value for the study of social history. The ethnographers have collected numerous examples of the zadruga, but without presenting a full analysis of the individual zadrugas with respect to their internal structures and their village and regional settings. An undifferentiated approach to the study of the zadruga unconsciously assumes a uniform background for all Balkan zadrugas; in this part of the world, with its sharp regional variations, such an assumption is very misleading . . .

"One purpose in making a fresh study of the zadruga is, by applying a uniform method of case-study investigation, to define the various regional types of zadruga found in the Balkans, to place the regional types in relation to their geographical and social environment, and to discover, as far as possible, the main lines in the evolution of the Balkan zadruga over the last hundred years or so" (20).

His method was to sample, by "picking typical villages or hamlets in each region" (20), "go to the village and establish a friendly relationship with the leading villagers, usually with the elders of one or more zadrugas" (21), "draw up a geneology of the family" (21), "record the division of labor within the zadruga among age groups, sex groups, and skill groups" (21), "draw up a budget of the family" (21), "list all the property held or rented by the zadruga . . . with an inventory of its livestock and equipment" (22).

Mosely unfortunately was able to publish but little of his research on the zadruga, and none of his work in Romania, because of pressures from his diplomatic obligations and the great amount of time he spent teaching and putting himself at the disposal of other scholars. He had planned to return to his studies on the family and the zadruga in retirement, a goal cut off by his early death. The list of contributions by his students and colleagues to the present volume, however, shows something of his stature and influence on researchers in a number of fields.

Margaret Mead's Introduction to the book evaluates his contributions to the comparative study of the family, showing how thoroughly he mastered anthropological field techniques and the ease with which he dealt with the different languages of the Balkans. She concludes that his articles "dealt with (the) subject in such a way that they provided a base for many subsequent detailed and related researches. They were pathbreaking in the field of Eastern European studies . . . His work on the zadruga . . . has profoundly affected both our knowledge and our approaches" (xxvi).

Leonard Schapiro (London School of Economics) provides a biographic sketch emphasizing his "work as a scholar, as a patron and promoter of scholarship, and as a teacher" (3).

Stavro Skendi (History Columbia), points out that Mosely's studies were highly regarded by scholars, poets, and politicians in the Balkans themselves, and regrets only that Mosely did not live to complete his study of the Balkan zadruga.

Mosely's four publications in this area -- three on the zadruga and one on the Russian family -- are reprinted together with a bibliography of his books and articles.

Part two of the book is devoted to historical and sociological studies of the zadruga. Eugene Hammel (Anthropology, Berkeley) analyzes the Chrysobulls of Decani for the evidence they provide on the medieval Serbian zadruga, concluding that the zadruga is better looked on, not as an "institution", but as the "precipitate of individually-made decisions" (114).

Olivera Buric (Institute for Social Policy, Belgrade) shows that contemporary Yugoslav students of the family have "generally ignored the continuing influence of the zadruga on modern life" (117); she provides detailed information on recent reduction in the size of the Yugoslav household, and finds that "while the great corporate households consisting of scores of members have all but disappeared from the Yugoslav countryside, many modes of behavior and values associated with the zadruga have survived both in the contemporary family and in society as a whole" (136).

Daniel Chirot (Sociology, Washington at Seattle) writes on The Romanian communal village: an alternative to the zadruga. "Romania is outside the Southeastern European zadrugal zone . . . (although) traces have been found of extended family structure" (139). "Philip Mosely's work can serve as proof of the absence of a true zadruga in Romania . . . His field notes from Romania . . . (are) organized in such a way as to suggest that he was seeking evidence of zadrugal organizations in Romania within his three zadrugal zones. He evidently came to the . . . conclusion . . . that aside from a few examples . . . in border regions . . . Romanians never had such an institution" (140). Because the same natural and social conditions existed in Wallachia and Moldavia in the nineteenth century as in Serbia, Chirot faces the question: if one accepts Mosely's functionalist explanation for the zadruga, why then did the zadruga not also develop in Romania? Chirot finds that, "in Romania, the village as a whole was communal, not the extended family" (141), and that such "communal villages were . . . territorial rather than family based units from a very early period" (153).

Part Three -- The zadruga, past and present: some illustrations -- begins with a narrative history by Vucinich (History, Stanford) of his own zadruga in Herzegovina from medieval times until 1968.

Tomasevich (Economics, San Francisco State University) presents data on the history of his own extended family in Dalmatia. The term zajednica was used in the nineteenth century in Dalmatia, with the same meaning as the term zadruga.

Kadic (Slavics, Indiana) describes the communal life of another Dalmatian village, comparing the old life there under the Poljica Statute with More's Utopia. "In the past, the air was perfumed . . . by huge wine barrels . . . Now it is a crowded settlement. Above it lie abandoned vineyards" (212).

Rheubottom (Social Anthropology, Manchester) examines the pattern of growth and decline in a number of contemporary Macedonian households in the region north of Skoplje, finding that "the larger ones follow Mosely's definition of the zadruga, (while) other households appear to be zadrugas in decline or households in the process of becoming zadrugas" (225). He emphasizes the importance of historical data for the understanding of processes such as the fission of zadrugas.

Grossmith (Sociology, Exeter) writes on The cultural ecology of Albanian extended family households in Yugoslav Macedonia. Large extended-family zadrugas are found today only among Yugoslavia's minority Albanian population, people who are "patriarchal, patrilineal, generally patrilocal, and Moslem" (232). A particular feature is the divisive element provided by women who marry into an extended family, where "household organization is geared to the preservation of a group of resident male agnates, and female members are constantly at odds with the system . . . Households are independent-economic units and rely upon the subjugation of individual interests for the prosperity of the house. Household economics are ecologically generalized in that household members exploit several kinds of economic resource" (242).

St. Erlich (Zagreb) considers The last big zadrugas: Albanian extended families in the Kosovo region. She stresses features that set the Albanian zadruga apart: Islamic religion and custom, tribal organization, feud and blood vengeance, bride-price. She considers that the zadruga may survive, for at least one or two generations more, in Kosovo "because of the special traditions and situation of the Albanians there" (251).

Sicard (Social Sciences, Bordeaux) discusses the different words for the zadruga and their conceptual content. He isolates "four fundamental elements of this type of group: the community of blood of the male members; the community of life and labor; the community of property; and the community of authority" (256). As to whether zadrugas hinder the building of socialism, he feels that precisely the wrong course has been followed: consideration should have been taken of "the absence of private property within the framework of the domestico-economic group and then . . . the limits of the peasant zadruga . . . (should have been extended) to that of Kolkhoz" (263).

As an appendix, the late Milenko S. Filipovic's article Zadruga (Kucna zadruga) from the Yugoslav Encyclopedia is translated and printed, to give it the attention it deserves.

The reviewer considers all the contributions to be of interest, although some are of far greater scholarly value than others. None of the contributors appears to have seen the papers of the others, so there is overlap and some contradictions.

One misses any attempt on the part of the editor to tie together, comment on, or even summarize the group of papers.

Alan McPherron — University of Pittsburgh

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East Central and Southeast Europe: a handbook of Library and archival resources in North America: Paul L. Horecky, editor; David H. Kraus, associate editor. (Joint Committee on Eastern Europe; no. 3). Santa Barbara, California, Clio Press. 468 pp. $35.75.

After nearly a decade of preparation, the appearance of East Central and Southeast Europe: A Handbook of Library and Archival Resources in North America, edited by Paul L. Horecky and David H. Kraus, will be considered a useful and much appreciated addition to the limited number of reference works which are available for this geographic area. Intended to provide a "basic reference tool for the study of essential collections" (p. ix), this work will facilitate the sometimes arduous task of locating materials from Eastern Europe.

The bulk of this volume consists of entries which describe the collections of individual libraries. For the major collections (UCLA, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Hoover Institution, Illinois, Indiana, The Library of Congress and the New York Public Library) the materials are further divided by country. The articles were written either by someone from the institution itself or by an outsider with special expertise.

If there is one lamentable fault, it is the excessive lag in time between the writing of the original entries and the publication date. Given the rapidly changing nature of university libraries' acquisition policies, we should not be surprised to discover that different priorities are already making themselves felt in the acquisition process. These changing priorities probably account for one omission which is immediately apparent; in spite of the increasing emphasis on immigration studies, materials relating to this topic are hardly mentioned. The one significant exception to this omission deserves to be mentioned: The University of Minnesota's Immigration History Research Center is building a collection for scholars interested not only in the history of Eastern Europeans on this side of the Atlantic, but in the conditions which helped stimulate emigration as well.

One of the more significant features of this volume is that it provides information on several special libraries, which, although not part of major university or urban systems, do nevertheless contain printed materials or archival sources covering one nation or topic comprehensively. Examples are Alliance College's Polish Collection, Duquesne's Tamburitzans Institute Collection or the Jankola Library for Slovak Studies. The Duquesne annotation, for instance, consists of but a single paragraph; yet it is invaluable to know that a collection of original sources for the study of Folk Art, especially films of dance and recordings of music, exists. This is the kind of source not found in the average university library collection, no matter how large, and its inclusion in the present volume seems highly appropriate.

Analysis of the nine major collections mentioned above comprises a large portion of the work. Some variation can be detected in the way each institution prepared its description. Harvard tended to place more emphasis on providing information about the scope of its collection and details concerning the history of its development. Columbia provided more information on individual titles owned, especially the hard-to-track-down scholarly serials. One suspects that in the long run the second approach will prove more valuable to the user who is attempting to find a rare scholarly series; whether it will be useful to know who gave what to what library is problematic.

Other indications further suggest that a number of the contributor did not take into account either the varied needs of their potential audience or the numerous purposes a work like this serves. While the Dumbarton Oaks entry, for instance, informs us that their materials are available on Interlibrary loan, no mention is made of the fact that G. K. Hall published its dictionary catalog in 1975. Similarly, one would have hoped that the New York Public and Harvard would have employed their alloted space to explain in greater detail the importance of their respective catalogs: the Dictionary Catalog of the Slavonic Collection List: Slavic History and Literature (1971) for Harvard. Since the presumption is that the Handbook will be used by both experienced scholars and novices, a better approach would have been to emphasize for the sake of the latter those tools whose significance are taken for granted by the former.

The usefulness of a compendium like this one under review should be all but self-evident. When undertaking research in the humanities and social sciences relating to East Central and Southeast Europe this will be the place to begin.

Stephen G. Maczko — University of Pittsburgh

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Ethnic Studies Bibliography. v. 1, 1975. 273 pp. $90.00. Published by University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, in conjunction with the Pennsylvania Ethnic Heritage Studies Center. Available from: University Center for International Studies, Publications Section, G-6 Mervis Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

This is the first of an intended annual publication to provide bibliographic coverage of the subject of ethnicity. The bibliography is seen as an "instrument for conceptual expansion, not one that will tunnel interests into prescribed areas". It is intended "to cut across the usual academic departments" and provide "teachers, researchers, and the general reading audience" with the ability "to select a specific ethnic group or a concept such as immigration or assimilation and be directed to the major articles written yearly on the subject".

Part I of the Bibliography contains: Author/Contributor Index, Subject Index, Geographic Area Index, Proper Name Index, and Journal Index. Each index entry gives the document accession number, author name(s), title and source. A "Rotated Subject Description Display" located

immediately before the Subject Index is intended to provide access to the main subject entry through all words in a descriptive subject phrase. The key subject description has been chosen from the Center's Political Science Thesaurus, which was probably constructed for its publication, United States Political Science Documents, which was also recently issued.

Part II of the Bibliography, Document Description Listing, arranged by an accession number, contains the most comprehensive information and may contain six to eleven pieces of information depending on its nature and including: accession number; author name(s); title; contributor name(s); e.g. members of panel discussions, critical response; some expression of opinion; source; abstract of a paragraph; length; special features, i.e. charts, tables, figures, maps, cited people, i.e. names of all people whose work is cited and as taken from the text, footnotes, and references; key subject descriptions; key geographic areas; and proper names.

The volume for 1975 abstracts 400 articles from 120 journals published the in the United States. It is unclear whether only the 120 journals cited were examined or whether other titles had been examined for citation, but had proved lacking in articles worthy of abstracting. In addition to those periodicals easily identified in some degree as dealing primarily with ethnic studies, such as the American Jewish Historical Quarterly, Ethnology, Indian Historian, Jewish Social Studies, Journal of Black Studies, Journal of Ethnic Studies, Peasant Studies Newsletter, and Polish American Studies, the bibliography abstracts such other periodicals as Administration and Society, American Sociological Review, Asian Survey, Civil Liberties Review, East European Quarterly, Education and Urban Society, Human Organization, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Public Opinion Quarterly, Russian History, Slavic Review, Social Forces and Urban Affairs Quarterly. It is a somewhat surprising selection of periodicals to be abstracted. A quick survey of a few periodicals missing from the list which seemed likely candidates for review contained articles with a more direct relevancy to ethnic studies than a number of articles abstracted in the bibliography: for instance, American Historical Review, v. 80 No. 4, October 1975, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants, and the Dilemma of Romantic Nationalism" by Gilbert Osofsky; Journal of American Folklore, v. 88, April-June 1975, "Con Safos: Mexican-American Names and Graffiti" by Sylvia Ann Grider, and in the October-December 1975 issue, "Ethnic Identity and the Love of the Supernatural" by Rosan A. Jordan; Journal of American History, v. LXII, No. 1, June 1975, "Ethnicity and the 1893 Wisconsin Assembly" by Ballard C. Campbell; Labor History, v. 15 No. 2, September, 1975, "Afro-American Gospel Music; a Crystallization of the Black Aesthetic" by Pearl Williams-Jones. We wonder why these articles are excluded while an article by Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Politics of Higher Education" which appeared in Daedalus, Winter 1975 (Document Description Listing #75000049) is abstracted; nowhere in the abstract is the ethnic factor indicated, and its key subject is listed as "Higher Education". Missing from the list of abstracted titles are: Black Scholar, Chinese Historical Society of America Bulletin, International Journal of Ethnic Studies (considered perhaps as being published in England?), Italian American Review, and Journal of Negro History among others.

We feel the subject index should be more extensive for ethnic studies taxonomy. And we would prefer to find such terms as Chinese Americans, Polish Americans, Slavic Americans, Jews, and Sephardic in the subject listing rather than in the proper name index.

The idea for an ethnic studies bibliography is a good one. However, we suggest that this publication define its broad scope and state its parameters clearly to justify its inclusion of articles on the politics, government, history, economics, and literature of national, territorial, or geographical units along with "ethnic studies".

There is certainly a need for an ethnic studies bibliography such a this one. But in future volumes, we would like to see (1) a more fully defined character/definition of ethnic studies for use in abstracting articles; (2) a more comprehensive, if selective, list of periodicals used for abstracting, e.g. periodicals with a specific focus on ethnicity published in the English Language anywhere in the world; and (3) the use of a more relevant subject thesaurus. The publication might perhaps emphasize ethnic studies as they relate to the United States, but we'd like to see the inclusion also of periodicals which deal generally with the concept of ethnicity without any particular ethnic group orientation.

Implementing the above suggestions would undoubtedly entail much costly effort, but we believe this Ethnic Studies Bibliography can achieve a truly major importance in its field.

R. Santis.

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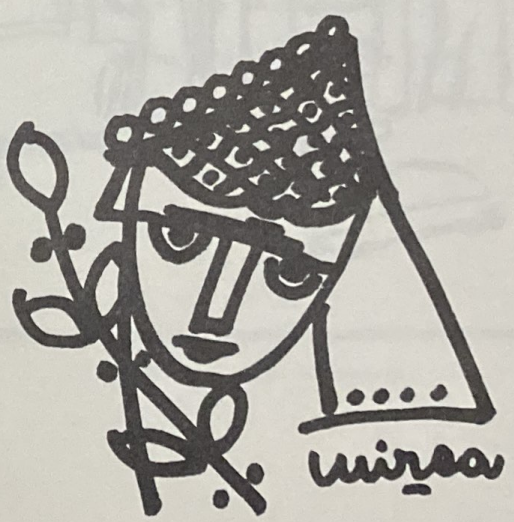

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